Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Key Results

Zyuganov on Party Priorities, Strategy in Duma

MK2012124495 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 2

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by Konstantin Katanyan and Grigoriy Nekhoroshev: "The December Tenets. Gennadiy Zyuganov Is Uplifted by Victory" — place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the middle of the night the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] leader was subjected to a cross examination by your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondents.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Gennadiy Andreyevich, with such a representation of your party in the State Duma you can easily become its chairman. Are you ready for this?

[Zyuganov] There are not a few of those who have proclaimed themselves presidents, chairmen. We take a quite different approach. We shall see what the final results are. We shall see who has received how much and who is worth what. Then we shall meet and hold consultations with each faction that has made it into the State Duma. We shall put forward two or three principles on the basis of which we are ready for normal cooperation and we will then consider the whole set of posts in the State Duma — the chairman, deputy chairmen, and the heads of the 20 something committees. And we shall reach agreement.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] And what are these principles?

[Zyuganov] The first one I formulated a long time ago — Russia's territorial integrity. If you recognize this, we are ready to move farther, because the disintegration of any state means war and misfortune.

The second thesis has to do with peace across our vast expanses: a cold war has become warm and then hot, taking a toll of hundreds and thousands of lives. All questions should be addressed on the basis of dialogue, law, and peace. To this end, a whole range of questions related to the distribution of power structures needs to be considered. At present nobody is responsible for his orders: neither the presidential team nor the government nor the Duma can verify their laws. A totally abnormal situation.

And the third point: Ensure the welfare not of 5-7 percent of the population, but make sure that there is wellbeing in everybody's home — the journalist, the factory worker, and the peasant, and that children and old people live a good life. These are the main conditions.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] And still, what is more important for you — to become Duma speaker or to remain the leader of its largest faction?

[Zyuganov] It is important for me that we now resolve the task put forward before the elections. I, for one, have traveled throughout the country — from Vladivostok to Leningrad, from Murmansk to Pyandza. I have made 272 presentations, and there was not a single vacant seat in the hall during my meetings. Some communicated only via a TV screen, but we did it eye to eye; we saw the pain and suffering and at the same time the enormous potential of our country. It is important that in the course of the election campaign we have consolidated our local branches: Some have grown by 1,000 members. We have resolved the first, and key, task.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] And what next?

[Zyuganov] It is written in our program: Normalization of the situation is only possible in two stages. The first stage is the Duma. Even if we occupy 100 percent of the seats there, this will not address the principal question. The second stage is the presidential election.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Will you insist on a change of government?

[Zyuganov] Why insist? Tomorrow you will see how many people trust the government. Even in Moscow it has received only one-sixth of the vote, and given that every second person has gone to the polls, that makes it even one-tenth. What government can sit in its place and work if even in the capital only 10 percent of the citizens trust it? And in the Far East only half that number. What else is there to say? Therefore, the government will meet and state that it is not doing a good job.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How are you going to deal with the Chechen issue?

[Zyuganov] The first thing we would do is to resume the negotiations without making any preconditions. I believe that it is a wise man who went to the polls in Chechnya, understanding that the problem is better resolved by voting, not the machine gun. Second, it is necessary to upgrade the status of the negotiator. This should be a first deputy premier who should, moreover, be free from other duties and in a position to resolve urgent matters with one phone call. Third, all flows of arms which continue to get there must be cut off from Chechnya. And fourth, all the neighboring republics should be involved in the settlement. And the main thing is to put all warring sides at the negotiating table.

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[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Including Dudayev?

[Zyuganov] Everybody. As I said, we must not make any preconditions.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Will you raise the question of restoring the USSR?

[Zyuganov] This is a long-term task. Restoration of a union state is a normal process.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Are you ready to cooperate with Viktor Anpilov in addressing this task?

[Zyuganov] What does Anpilov have to do with this! Nobody is ready to agree that the Russian people must be dismembered. We have a concept, approved by a congress, for a phased restoration of the USSR by using the mechanism of referendum and political consultations. It will start with the creation of a single educational and information space. We have already submitted corresponding documents to the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly. Real steps are needed, not talk about the Union. I am sure that this process will end with the restoration of a single state.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Do you already feel that you have won the Duma elections or should the final results in single-seat constituencies be awaited?

[Zyuganov] It is already known that we did well in Volgograd, and three CPRF members will get into the Duma. Our representative in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast has been successful. Svetlana Goryacheva, Viktor Ilyukhin, and others have passed. So far our forecast is being fulfilled — even a little better than expected.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] To what do you attribute your success?

[Zyuganov] We have a large, well-organized party.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Just like the CPSU?

[Zyuganov] We have other tasks and methods. We have no bureaucratic apparatus; we recognize a mixed economy; we have renounced atheism. We are ready to seek agreement even with those who adhere to other political views.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] With whom are you ready to cooperate in the new parliament?

[Zyuganov] With everybody with whom it is possible to work normally. I have already twice met with Gaydar, talked with Yavlinskiy, Fedorov, and Mikhalkov. We have cooperated in the current Duma even with LDPR members. I am not talking about the faction leader, but we have successfully addressed questions with committee chiefs representing the LDPR.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Do you agree that you have become a social democrat?

[Zyuganov] What you, journalists, have not called me....

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Is it bad to be considered a social democrat?

[Zyuganov] If you begin to introduce social democracy in the Northern Caucasus, you will unleash another five wars. You must reckon with the realities of life, not play with terms.

Comments on Resurgence of Communism

LD2012120595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 20 — The results of the past general elections show a complete debacle of anti-communism in Russia, claimed leader of the Russian Communist Party Gennadiy Zyuganov, speaking at a news conference in the State Duma (Russian parliament lower house) on Wednesday.

"Our success was predetermined by a well-thought-out election compaign, the final aim of which is to bring a patriot president to the office," he stressed.

According to Zyuganov, a complete downfall of radical democrats who were "unanimous in their disdain for Russia," was another result of the polls.

The elections showed that the government course is backed only by one out of ten who went to the polls. "The cabinet of ministers cannot pursue the previous course with such a level of confidence," Zyuganov emphasized. He is convinced that "the government will make adjustments to its course," "they are now inevitable".

The Communist leader also said that the elections showed another defeat of centrists who do not enjoy support from some social segments of population. The results of voting say that the population made a moral appraisal in favour of those who have remained loyal to the ideals of democracy and friendship of peoples, he continued.

In Zyuganov's opinion, the Communist Party consolidated its positions everywhere, and its position should be taken into account. Besides, Zyuganov noted, the elections showed that the Communist Party reached the highest success with the minimum expenses for the election campaign (1,300 million roubles).

Speaking of the future activities of Communists at the Duma, Zyuganov said that, followong the final

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publication of election results, Communists will start consultations with other political forces represented at the legislature.

As a result of these talks, they will hammer out a procedure for forming the Duma leadership. Interests of all, even small groups, should be taken into account, the Communist leader underlined.

He noted at the same time that "we shall insist that Communists who head now some Duma committees, should remain at their posts".

Zyuganov pointed to impoverishment of the masses, growth of prices and taxes as priority areas of work at the Duma for the Communist Party. "We should ensure priority of Russian manufacturers," he noted. "Besides, it is necessary to take a package of laws aimed at strengthening security of population."

Zyuganov also regards as inevitable further activities of the Communist Party aimed at denouncing the Belovezhskaya agreements (Eds: heads of state of Russia, Byelorussia [as received] and Ukraine came to the Belovezhskaya Forest, Byelorussia [as received], in 1991 to proclaim the collapse of the Soviet Union).

According to Zyuganov, it is necessary in this case to bring everything in compliance with the will of Soviet population expressed at the referendum of March 17, 1991.

Speaking of foreign policy activities of the Communist Party, Zyuganov noted that he sees the main geopolitical danger for Russia in drawing it into a conflict with the Islamic world through Yugoslavia, Chechnya and Tajikistan.

He noted in this connection that Communists will do their best to calm down the situation in those regions, including efforts "to ease the fate of Serbs through most humane and diplomatic actions".

In turn, deputy chairman of the Russian Communist Party Valentin Kuptsov who also addressed the news conference, said that, according to the preliminary results, the Comunist group at the Duma will have 120-130 members.

"It is clear even now that our representatives will carry 53 one-seat constituences," he emphasized.

Speaker of the legislative assembly of the Kemerovo Region Amengeldy Tuleyev who was also present at the meeting with journalists and who was the third on the federal election list of the Communist Party, said that, although he was elected to the State Duma at the elections, he will not work at parliament but will remain in the Kuznetsk coal basin, Siberia, since he feels personal responsibility to the population of the basin.

ITAR-TASS Carries Results From 225 Constituencies

LD2112120595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0729 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Itar-Tass) — Follow the final results of State Duma elections in 225 one-seat constituencies:

Independent	77
Communist party	58
Agrarian party	20
Yabloko	14
Our Home is Russia	10
Democratic Russia's Choice	9
Nikolay Ryzhkov party	9
Congress of Russian Communities	5
Ivan Rybkin bloc	3
Forward Russia	3
Women of Russia	3
Panfilova-Gurov-Lysenko coalition	2

12 parties and blocs, including the Liberal Democratic party of nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky, succeeded to win in only one one-seat constituency.

93 of the winners were members of the previous Duma and nine were members of the Federation Council.

ITAR-TASS Updates Election Returns

LD2012155395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1524 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 20 (Itar-Tass) - Follow updated results of State Duma elections in 173 out of 225 party list constituencies as for 16:45 [1345 GMT] on Wednesday, after counting 47,535,288 votes.

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Party	16:45	morning
Communist Party	21.41	21.03
Liberal Democratic Party	10.89	11.02
Our Home is Russia	9.98	10.07
Yabloko	7.27	7.20
Women of Russia	4.65	4.68
Working Russia	4.57	4.59
Democratic Russia's Choice	4.14	4.17
Congress of Russian Communities	4.11	4.14
Svyatoslav Fedorov Party	4.11	4.10

Other 34 parties won less than four percent each and have practically lost chances to surpass the 5-percent qualification barrier.

Distribution of Duma Committee Assignments Forecast

MK2112141295 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Yuryev: "Now That Voters Have Been Divided, It's Time To Divide Seats and Offices"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Fifth State Duma will sit for the last time on 22 December. Incumbent parliamentarians, whose powers are valid until the new Duma sits for the first time, do not intend to do any lawmaking. Ivan Rybkin has already dubbed the last Duma sitting a "gala ritual." Moreover, the deputies will assemble in the Hall of Columns, next to the Duma building. It is there, too, that a good-bye party will apparently be thrown.

As for the new occupants of the Duma, these are not expected to assemble before 16 January. In their first sitting, they are to elect the leadership of the house, determine its structure, and appoint chairmen of committees and commissions. The distribution of about one hundred Duma posts will become, as soon as the next few days, something the parties and blocs which have crossed the 5-percent threshold are going to haggle about. The Communists — together with Agrarians and Anpilovites who have carried single-seat constituencies — count on between 120 and 130 seats, and they have even drawn up a schedule of negotiations with the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], NDR ["Russia Is Our Home"], and "Yabloko" (however, according to Central Electoral Commission data, the CPRF alone already had 150 seats as of yesterday evening). Zyuganov expects that the difficult questions of personnel distribution in the Duma will be possible to coordinate without major problems.

The Communists have already set a rather important condition: They should keep the committees headed by CPRF people in the previous State Duma. They primarily have in mind Viktor Ilyukhin's Security Committee and Viktor Zorkaltsev's Committee for the Affairs of Public Associations and Religious Organizations. The Communists will apparently also claim for themselves the rather important Committee on Legislation, which was headed by Vladimir Isakov, elected on the APR [Agrarian Party of Russia] list. The Agrarian Committee, together with what remains of the APR faction, will also most likely go to the Communists. "Yabloko" representatives will hardly object to the principle of continuity and will thus keep two key committees: the Budget Committee, with its former and now reelected chairman Mikhail Zadornov, and the International Affairs Committee, which may once again be headed by Vladimir Lukin. The LDPR can hardly gain anything if that is the case. The Committee on Questions of Geopolitics, which mainly consisted of LDPR members, is hardly going to survive in the new Duma. It was indeed Zhirinovskiy who insisted on scrapping it after General Viktor Ustinov, the committee leader, quit his faction. If the continuity principle is to be followed, Zhirinovskiyites will retain their Environmental Committee and the Committee on Labor and Social Support. They can hardly hope for more. As for the NDR, if it manages to persuade a considerable number of winners in single-seat constituencies to side with it, it will actually become the second biggest faction in the Duma. In this case, however, they will have to give up the continuity principle.

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It looks like generals will now lay claim to the Defense Committee, currently headed by Colonel Sergey Yushenkov, a member of Russia's Democratic Choice. One of the generals may be Lebed. A large number of contenders is expected for the rather influential post of Duma Work Organization Committee chairman. This committee will obviously be in charge of the faction or group of deputies whose representative becomes speaker. It is around this question — who is to head the new Duma — that the main struggle will center. Neither the Communists nor the Zhirinovskiyites are likely to be able to place their man in the seat. This position can only be realistically aspired to by someone with no direct links with the four winners in the party struggle.

The positions of deputy speakers, it appears, can this time be distributed justly without hurting anyone: Four deputy speakers will represent their own factions in the Duma leadership, with the fifth position to go to a deputy from a single-seat constituency.

Yeltsin Congratulates Zavgayev on Chechen Victory

LD2012161995 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Dec 95

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has congratulated Doku Zavgayev on his victory in the elections for head of the Chechen republic, INTERFAX reports. The president notes in his telegram to Zavgayev: People connect your name with the striving towards the restoration of peace and accord on Chechen soil. I remind you that over 95 percent of the electorate who took part in the elections supported Zavgayev in the vote.

Zhirinovskiy Tops Poll of Presidential Hopefuls

LD2012183295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Interfax) — Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, would stand the best chance of becoming the Russian president if the elections were held next January, with 7 percent of the poll taken on December 6 to 12, 1995, voting for him.

The All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center reports that in a poll of 1,008 Russians Gennadiy Zyuganov, the Communist Party leader, was preferred by 6 percent.

He was followed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Yabloko leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy with 5 percent each.

General Aleksandr Lebed, a leader of the Congress of Russian Communities, and Svyatoslav Fedorov, the chairman of the Workers Self-government Party, had four percent each.

President Boris Yeltsin was the choice of two percent.

The same percentage would be won by Boris Fedorov, the leader of Forward, Russia; Aleksandr Rutskoy, the leader of Great Power; Yegor Gaydar, the leader of Russia's Democratic Choice and Aman Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo region legislature.

Other statesmen in the rating list obtained one percent and less in the poll. What is significant is that 24 percent said they will not vote and the same number were undecided.

Shokhin: NDR Aims To Be 'Unifying Force' for Center-Left

MM2012121995 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Marina Eratova: "'Our Home' Was Expecting More Inhabitants"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Who did you vote for?" one voter asks another.

"For 'Russia Is Our Home.'"

"Why?" The first one asks in surprise.

"It's a great roof over your head!"

Indeed, when the preliminary results of the elections to the State Duma were only just emerging, complacent excitement was reigning and champagne was flowing in the headquarters of "Russia Is Our Home." In a word, everyone was having a good time [Odno slovo — sotrapezniki].

The "Russia Is Our Home" federal movement of the party of power is currently among the four leading movements which have beaten the 5-percent barrier. "Russia Is Our Home" sees its victory in the elections of governors and heads of republics, notably the fact that E. Nazdratenko won in Primorye and A. Tyazhlov in the Moscow area. "And D. Zavgayev, who gained the majority of votes in Chechnya, is a supporter of our movement," Yu. Sizov stated.

A. Shokhin, one of the leaders of the Moscow regional organization who, incidentally, does not rule out the possibility of heading the "Russia Is Our Home" Duma faction, informed journalists of his opinion.

"It came as a surprise to me that in the Far East, 'Communists-Working Russia-for the Soviet Union' beat the 5-percent barrier, while 'Russia's Democratic

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Choice' did not. It can scarcely count on becoming the biggest faction in the State Duma."

A. Shokhin also stated that the "Russia Is Our Home" movement intends to become a kind of unifying force for democratic left of center forces.

"There will be no earth-shattering changes," V. Chernomyrdin said in response to a question from journalists about the results of the ballot. "But since the government intends to implement the scheduled program and will do so, it will amend its course, and there will be some changes in the cabinet."

So what can be considered as the success of "Russia Is Our Home"?

S. Belyayev, leader of the "Russia Is Our Home" headquarters, believes that "the government should be supervised [kontrolirovatsya] by a real political force, which should be created on the basis of the faction of the 'Russia Is Our Home' movement."

Many people are comfortable and warm under the roof of the well-financed "Home." But the majority of Russians, as the preliminary calculations show, are choosing a more reliable roof over their heads — maybe not so cozy, but on the other handed tested by time and generations.

Kozyrev: 'No Need To Hurry' About Remaining in Office

LD2012141295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1211 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Interfax) — There is no need to hurry "in the discussion with President Boris Yeltsin about my continuing in office," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told Interfax in Moscow Wednesday.

"The official election results will be summed up by January 6, and I will remain a deputy of the old Duma till January 17. The rules of the old Duma allowed the combination of lawmaker status with a ministerial post. So I have plenty of time left," said Kozyrev.

The minister reaffirmed his plans to discuss his future in office with the president.

"This is the only way of decent behavior for any of us. But one should not expect this to happen within the next half an hour," said the minister.

Kozyrev meets with the president "at least once a week. When we failed to meet because of the president's ailment, we used to talk over the telephone, sometimes up to three times a week."

Kozyrev spoke to correspondents at the Moscow Krasnopresnenskiy court, where he was summoned for hearings of Liberal-Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's suit on protection of his honor and dignity.

The action was brought in winter 1994, after Kozyrev said on television that Zhirinovskiy has fascist views.

The court session was postponed for the third time Wednesday due to the absence of the judge. The two previous court sessions were postponed due to the absence of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his lawyers. This time neither Zhirinovskiy nor his lawyer were present.

Please see the Interfax Diplomatic Panorama of December 20 for details.

Shakhray To Quit Post of Vice Premier To Take Up Duma Seat

MM2012190095 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Shakhray To Leave the Post of Vice Premier"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin has stated that there will be no reshuffle in the government leadership on the basis of the results of the State Duma elections. The head of government added that "there can be no doubt" that First Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays will remain in the cabinet.

At a press conference in Rostov-na-Donu, Sergey Shakhray, who was victorious in the elections to the State Duma from one of the electoral districts here, basically announced his resignation from the post of vice premier. In response to a question from your TRUD correspondent on what he will choose — the government, or his deputy's seat — Sergey Mikhaylovich replied: It would be the height of cynicism to refuse the electorate's votes three days after the elections. I will be a deputy.

On the question of whom he intends to cooperate with in parliament, the deputy said: There are many worthy people in the Duma, and he named, in particular, "Yabloko" and "Russia Is Our Home." The voters will make the deputies seek consensus, he stressed. They want us to learn not to fight there [in the Duma], but to work.

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Regional Activity

'Left-Wing' Win 'Clear-Cut Victory' in Krasnodar

MM1912113495 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Success for Left-Wing Forces"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over 60 percent of the electorate in Krasnodar Kray voted. According to preliminary figures, the largest number of votes was polled by representatives of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation with the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia in second place. The Agrarians, "Women of Russia," and "Russia Is Our Home" polled a considerable number of votes. On the whole it emerges that left-wing forces have secured a clear-cut victory. Despite the fact that the central and local mass media, not to mention officials and others, have made gigantic unprecedented efforts to get right-wingers into the Duma.

Analysis of Duma Election Returns

LD2012160195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1522 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — Although the final results of the December 17 legislative elections are not known yet, it is possible to make a general forecast of the future balance of forces in a new Duma.

First of all, there will be fewer factions in a new parliament. Perhaps, only four — those which have overcome the 5 percent barrier: the Communist Party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR), Our Home is Russia (NDR) and Yabloko.

Women of Russia are close to clearing the barrier with 4.68 percent of votes.

Depending on the number of blocs which will make it to the Duma, the communist faction may be as big as 140-150 deputies, including candidates from one-seat constituencies, the LDPR may have 50 seats, NDR 50-55 seats and Yabloko 45-50 seats. This makes any more or less strong coalition impossible.

Communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov has repeatedly pointed out that his party will leave "the doors for cooperation open to all." However, it is hard to imagine a situation where Communists would vote together with NDR. A situation where the Communists side with Yabloko is more likely.

Although Yabloko leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy keeps on saying that his program has nothing to do with that of the communists, one should not rule out the possibility of cooperation between them on issues opposing the government's policy. Indeed, both factions will build their election strategy for the upcoming presidential polls scheduled for June 1996 on severe criticism of the government.

It is also possible that Yabloko may support NDR on some economic bills, but even together the two can hardly resist the opposition that is likely to be mounted by the communists and the LDPR. The unpredictability of the LDPR faction, which voted for and against the government's draft laws in the former Duma with equal vigor, will complicate the situation in a new parliament even more.

The communist faction will have an unconditional right to veto any law which requires a qualified majority (that is 301 votes). However, even for draft laws which require a simple majority (226 votes), the communists' voice will be critical, given the disagreements between the candidates elected in one-seat constituencies.

About half of them represent parties and are likely to join their respective factions or may support other forces (for example, the Agrarians may support the Communists). The other half is less conspicuous. According to very rough estimates, only one third of them support reformers.

However, the most important factor that will determine the first six months of a new Duma's work is the preparation for the forthcoming presidential elections due to be held on June 16, 1996.

Clearly, politicians will use the Duma to achieve their own goals and may try to push through populist laws.

Regions' Economic Status Linked to Voting Patterns

MK2112090495 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 86, 17-24 Dec 95 (Signed to press 19 Dec 95) p 4

[Report by Dmitriy Balburov and Olga Bychkova: "Let's Tighten Red Belt"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Spheres of Influence Were Divided by Political Forces in Strict Compliance With Socioeconomic Specifics of Each Region

There is only one regularity: The worse the economic situation, the greater the chances of the left-wing forces, even the very left-wing, such as the "Communists — Working Russia — For the Soviet Union" association. The "Tyulkinites-Anpilovites" largely owe their "breakthrough" right up to the 5-percent barrier to voters in

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the Far East. The positions of communists there are generally growing ever stronger. This, first and foremost, applies to Gennadiy Zyuganov's Communist Party, of course. In general, the elections brought no surprises for the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation]. It won virtually in all the regions traditionally regarded as being "red."

The results were predetermined in Buryatia, where the worst economic crisis continues, with a majority of big enterprises shut down. There they customarily blame all misfortunes on the former government and its premier, Vladimir Saganov, who performed shock therapy "a la Gaydar."

As is always the case, support for communists in Dagestan set an all-time high of 56 percent. The situation there is unique in that the republic is virtually sealed off: The railroad and highway are cut because of the war in Chechnya, and there is a special regime along the Azerbaijan border. The republic's budget almost completely depends on subsidies. Whereas Dagestan's top leaders are members of "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] by virtue of their office, ordinary citizens prefer the CPRF. There is a similar picture in North Ossetia. In general, the curve of support for communists in the Northern Caucasus is rising smoothly, as the standard of living falls in the republics as you move from west to east.

The Communist Party managed to pass the former favorite — the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] — this apparently because it came to stress economic issues instead of politics, while continuing to reject government policies. This is precisely the case in the Kuzbass [Kuznetsk Basin] with its miners' problems, where communists garnered 37 percent of the vote — more than the Russian average. The LDPR also conceded to the Communist Party in Orel Oblast. Militant "Zhirinovskiyites" kept their positions in the zone of the "new border areas" — the Far East, the south of Western Siberia, and in Stavropol Kray.

As for the new entries in the electoral race, they did not seem to have perturbed the voter much. It was rather easy to find their bearings for those former supporters of "Russia's Democratic Choice," who backed it in 1993 as a party at the helm of reforms. Now they cast their votes for the NDR, something seen especially clearly in both capitals [Moscow and St. Petersburg]. In relatively well-fed and "educated" Moscow, "[Russia Is] Our Home" received more than 20 percent of the vote — a veritable triumph. At the same time, support for Yegor Gaydar's bloc dropped by a factor of three in the capital (while it is higher that the country's average). The NDR was a success in Yakutia, where the standard of living is several times higher than on average in Russia thanks to its reserves of precious metals and stones.

The party of power proved a formidable rival for the Communists in Tatarstan, scoring several percentage points on them. The reason is quite obvious: Precipitous reforms were avoided there, with President Mintimer Shaymiyev declaring a gradual entry into the market. At the same time, the Communist Party won nearly twice the number of votes "Our Home" did in neighboring Bashkortostan. Also there, the Agrarian Party of Russia scored a striking success (20 percent). Playing a part there were referendums held simultaneously with the elections on the continuation of the policy of economic independence and the unlimited possibility to buy and sell land. The rural voters' turnout was almost 90 percent. The referendum on land proved to be practically the only reason to think of the Agrarian Party's existence. The APRF [Agrarian Party of the Russian Federation] was clearly blamed for the absence of change in the agricultural sphere, primarily in the agrarian areas where they pinned much hope on it. In Rostov Oblast, for example, the "Agrarians" receives almost a third of the votes they did in the past elections.

Much contrary to expectations, "Yabloko" could not appreciably widen its electorate. Its voters, with the exception of a small percentage of less lucky "democrats," remain the same — the inhabitants of highly urbanized regions and oblasts with a high economic, scientific, and technical potential.

Many did not expect "Women of Russia" to have lost many of its supporters. But women voters must have realized that voting for those like themselves is not going to solve all problems.

Russians in Uzbekistan Prefer CPRF, NDR, KRO

MK2012145895 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Uzbekistan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The sole polling station in Uzbekistan was set up at the Russian Embassy in Tashkent. The local authorities did not think it necessary to permit the opening of polling stations in Samarkand and Navoi. Slightly more than 1,700 Russian citizens living in the republic turned out to vote on 17 December. A commission made up of embassy staffers deemed a total of 1,560 ballots to be valid. On Monday, the preliminary results of the vote became known. The Communist Party of the Russian Federation won 12.5 percent of the vote; "Russia Is Our Home," 12 percent; the Congress of Russian Communities, 11.8 percent.

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"Yabloko," the Party of Workers' Self-Government, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia garnered 9 percent of the vote each. Russia's Democratic Choice under Yegor Gaydar also cleared the 5-percent hurdle. Ballots cast in the single-seat district vote were sent to the Odintsovo electoral district in Moscow, to which the Tashkent polling station was assigned.

Guidelines

Rybkin Warns of 'Judiciary Investigation' of Elections

LD2112124595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1215 GMT 21 Dec 95

[By Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 21 (Itar-Tass) — Ivan Rybkin, the State Duma Speaker, does not rule out that some blocs that lost the election may contest the results of the parliamentary elections in the Constitutional Court. Rybkin said this to journalists in the State Duma on Thursday.

He believes that the address to the Constitutional Court may be prompted by the fact that candidates who have not totalled if only 50 per cent of votes of the entire electorate will be representing the country in the lower house of parliament. [sentence as received] "I wish the winners that they should total at least 60 per cent of votes. Otherwise they will, possibly, have to face judiciary investigation," Rybkin said.

Commentary

Communist Party Head Interviewed

LD1912231995 Paris LCI Television in French 1835 GMT 19 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent Yves Calvi] In this second part of "Evenement" — let me remind you that we have with us in our studio our guest Helene Blanc, who is a political scientist at the National Scientific Research Center and specialist on the former Soviet Union. However, we are now going over to a live linkup with Moscow where the winner of the Russian parliamentary elections, Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of Russia, is waiting to speak to us.

Mr. Zyuganov, good evening and thank you for accepting our invitation and that of Marie-Claude Slick, our Moscow correspondent. Forgive me, but we are not yet very familiar with you here in France, so my first question is this. We are also quite unfamiliar with the kind of communism you now represent. Do names such as Lenin and Stalin, and symbols such as the hammer and sickle, still mean something to you, and do they represent your plans for the Russia of tomorrow?

[Zyuganov, in Russian with superimposed French translation] We have had one history — only one — since the initial period, 1,000 years ago, and continuing until the most recent period. Normal people never repudiate their history — especially those who have held the reins of power, including during that period — so dangerous, when our country was occupied by the fascists, and who later evicted them. All peoples, all nations have their symbols, and all cultivated individuals should respect them.

[Calvi] Does that mean that you repudiate nothing, and neither do you repudiate the deaths [attributed] to Stalinism?

[Zyuganov] With regard to the period when Stalin was in power, the party has rendered its judgement on that period. The victory of our people in the Great Patriotic War is recognized by one and all, and is recognized as having liberated Europe. As far as the illegalities are concerned, our party appraised them during the 50's, and our party has officially declared that it is not only against repressive acts, but that it is also against the supposed historical mission of the party. This is stated in our program.

[Calvi] Mr. Zyuganov, thank you for answering those questions. If you do not mind, we are now going to skip over the past and reflect on the future. You are portrayed in the French press as one of the powerful figures, and above all as the winner of the legislative elections in Russia. So you are one of the politicians who matter today and will matter tomorrow. Among the watchwords you used in your campaign was the idea of restoring, more or less, the Soviet Union. I would like to know what you mean by the word restore, and how you interpret it. I mean, very politically, and very concretely, what are you actually asking for and what are you proposing — particularly with regard to the social sphere — to the Russian people?

[Zyuganov] Our party and our electoral association have won a quite convincing victory. Thanks to our party lists we attracted about a quarter of the votes, and we elected more than 40 percent of our candidates in the one-member constituencies. This happened in all the constituencies of the Russian Federation. Now everyone acknowledges that. As far as our policies are concerned, their object is friendly relations with both the West and the East; they will be open and constructive; they will be whatever can bring real rights to our country and to those who wish to cooperate with us.

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Regarding the reestablishment of the state that has been destroyed, that is the will of our peoples, and we wish, democratically and without violating anyone's sovereignty, to undertake policies designed to rebuild the country that has been demolished, beginning with Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. I think that also fits in with currently fashionable thinking in Europe. Europe is now unified. I have frequently crossed the border between Germany and France, and these two nations — who for years waged war on one another — did not even ask to see my passport in this place, the Franco-German border, even though I am a foreigner. We would like to have identical relations with our allies and closest neighbors, especially with Belarus and Ukraine, with whom we have never had any wars.

[Calvi] I would like to speak in geographical and political terms, as it were, Mr Zyuganov. I would like to ask you about the state of society in your country. Is the presence of the mafia within the highest spheres of the state apparatus — according to what some say — a major concern for Russian Communists and those you represent?

[Zyuganov] It is one of the crucial issues. If you ask the voters, and if you listen to what they tell you, this is what worries them the most: crime, unemployment — we have nearly 20 million unemployed — and the fact that they have been deprived of the most basic social protection. That is why we intend to have the Duma pass a series of laws that will allow us to fight back effectively against corruption, the mafia, and crime. We have also drawn up a big batch of bills, and if the Duma passes them, then I think that everyone, even in the enforcement system of [word indistinct] the law, will have a far greater ability to fight against crime and the mafia.

[Calvi] Another question, I would ask you to answer briefly, if you do not mind. Hardly a week passes without, in Europe and many other democratic countries, Mr Yeltsin's illness being talked about — not to mention his fondness for drink, his alcoholism. Is this a matter that concerns you and does it worry you with regard to your country's future?

[Zyuganov] In any case, we are in favor of the application in our country of a wholly sober policy, which aims to defend the interests of our state, and which aims for good neighborly relations with whomsoever desires that...

[Calvi, interrupting] Gennadiy Zyuganov, thank you so much for your comments. I am sorry to have to interrupt you for a moment, but I will return to you in a moment. [video shows report over video on advisers and colleagues of Boris Yeltsin, entitled "Who Really Governs Russia?"]

We return to Moscow and our guest, Gennadiy Zyuganov, the Communist Party leader who has just won the elections. Mr Zyuganov, before giving the floor to Mrs Blanc, who has a question for you, I would like to know if you now wish to take power completely, including the presidency. Will you be a candidate in the presidential election and, until that time, can you conceive of cooperating with President Boris Yeltsin?

[Zyuganov] We are responsible people, and in our role as the largest party, we are going to cooperate with all branches of the government. We would like everything to end peacefully in the country and we want law and order to prevail. That is why we have gone into the Duma. We are ready to hold a constructive dialogue, but of course we have our views on what is happening and we have our own program for stabilizing the situation in our country.

[Calvi] But will you do this in collaboration with the present prime minister and with the president?

[Zyuganov] We are going to examine the actual situation in the country and we are going to propose our particular suggestions for emerging from this situation. With regard to the president, there are currently more than 100 candidates for the presidency. We are much more down-to-earth on this issue. It is our intention to form a broad coalition in the Duma, where there will be communists, socialists, trade unions, producers of goods, and a variety of other organizations. This coalition will put forward a large team for the presidential elections. Regarding the actual [word indistinct] we will agree on this later.

[Calvi] After the success you have just scored, do you not have some sort of ambition to be the Communist candidate in the presidential election?

[Zyuganov] We will examine that question with our allies, and if someone declares his wish to be candidate, he will not have many allies left. After discussions with our allies, we will solve this problem and we will decide on our position in a conference.

[Calvi] Mr Zyuganov, in the first part of our conversation I was struck by the fact that you have given us your views on social and geopolitical issues, on the problems of the mafia, of corruption and even on alcoholism. Mrs Helene Blanc, who is a specialist on the Soviet Union and contemporary Russia, would like to ask you a question.

[Blanc] How do you do? [preceding question in Russian] I would like to ask you, Mr Zyuganov: you told

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us a moment ago that, if I understood you correctly, you would like to restore the Soviet Union. Does that mean that you want to restore the former republics within the sphere of Moscow's authority, in other words, reestablish former borders? Do you think that is realistic these days, after everything that has happened, including the independence and sovereignty of the 15 present republics?

[Calvi] And if so, by the by, would you be in favor of doing it by force, if the occasion arose?

[Blanc] And if you wished to do so by force, I do not see what the difference is between you and Mr Zhirinovskiy.

[Zyuganov] We have absolutely nothing in common with Mr Zhirinovskiy's position and we never have had anything in common. I proposed a way to reestablish links on a voluntary basis, by means of a referendum, using — calling on — the will of the citizenry, who are the supreme authority, to decide without infringing the political sovereignty or political independence of anyone. At the end of the 20th century, it would be an anachronism to draw borders where there have never been any. No civilized state in Europe would act in such a way. We are therefore in favor of reestablishing links that have been broken. As for the shape that all this will take, time will tell. We are certain that when we arrive at a responsible position of power in the Kremlin, many republics of the former Soviet Union will reestablish links, whereas in the present situation it is impossible even to go to a neighboring republic to see your own relatives.

[Calvi] Mr Zyuganov, thank you so much for having spoken to us live over this linkup with our Moscow bureau. One last question, very briefly, for Helene Blanc: Does this man who has just appeared live on our broadcast "Evenement" stand any chance of becoming the president of Russia?

[Blanc] One must be very cautious on this. Firstly, in my opinion, he is a theoretician, not someone with experience of government. Of course, he has become leader of the biggest Russian party, but there are still a number of unknowns.

CPRF Central Committee Thanks Voters

MM2012182495 Moscow PRAVDA ROSSII in Russian 21 Dec 95

[Message from Communist Party of the Russian Federation Central Committee]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Voters!

Compatriots!

Dear Comrades!

The first stage of the election campaign in the Russian Federation has ended. Despite all the attempts by the authorities and individual political forces to defer or even cancel the elections to the country's supreme legislative organ, the election of State Duma deputies took place and proceeded under conditions of the voters' high degree of activity. That is the main political result of the elections and is an enormous moral victory for all sane people who are sincerely concerned for their Fatherland's fate.

The Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] and the candidates from its electoral association did not go to the elections to come to power but to save Russia and its multinational peoples from the looming catastrophe, to protect the fundamental interests of the working people, and to restore the human and civil rights the present regime has flouted. We are against bloody new upheavals toward which the ruling regime is pushing us. The Communists see a different way for society to emerge from the present crisis — through the peaceful, gradual resurrection of the Soviet power of the people. A path that is not imposed from above, at someone's will, but which is born and which is blazing a trail from below, from the thick of the people's masses, relying on the harmonious combination of the interest of different social strata of society and the interests of the Russian Federation and its individual regions.

We went to the elections very well aware of the torrents of lies and slander which would descend on the party and the candidates of its electoral association. Today, at the end of the election campaign, we can say frankly that no one has the right to accuse the Communists of waging the election struggle by unseemly methods, as our political rivals often did. We managed to wage our campaign quite modestly but, as the results of the elections have shown, fruitfully.

Nonetheless we were convinced of success. That conviction was based on faith in our people, in their wisdom and age-old loyalty to the ideals of good and justice. In all corners of our vast country, at all stages of the election campaign, we constantly felt your help and support and relied on them in practical deeds. Nor could it be otherwise. After all, the CPRF is the party of the people's masses, the party of the working people, the party which expresses the interests of the majority of the country's population.

We sincerely thank you for your support, for the modest savings, often the last savings from your work, which you sent to our electoral association. We are deeply grateful to all our supporters for their selfless labor. Without your aid and your moral and material support

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we would not have achieved today's success. A huge thank you and a low bow to you for that!

The deputies from the "CPRF" electoral association were elected through your will, with your direct participation. They consider it their duty and honorable obligation to express our interests and to be answerable to you.

The CPRF again states its readiness to cooperate with all those who are not indifferent to the fate of Russia and the interests of working people, those who hold equally dear the past, present, and future of our Fatherland. We are open to honest dialogue free of diktat and violence with all those who are not seeking in these hard times only petty political advantage but are truly concerned by the state of affairs in the country and are prepared to do everything to help lead it out of the protracted crisis.

The election of the Russian Federation president lies ahead. The Communists will make every effort to pass through this stage of the political struggle with honor too, in alliance with the left-wing, left-centrist, and national-patriotic forces and with their allies to achieve success at the presidential elections.

As before, our main slogans are Peace, Labor, Power of the People, and Socialism. We shall steadily march forward — FOR OUR SOVIET MOTHERLAND!

[Signed] the CPRF Central Committee.

Possibility of Split in CPRF Seen

MM2012115595 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Feliks Babitskiy: "Communists May Split and Democrats May Unite"]

[FBIS Translated Text] And so the Communists' success, long promised to us, has become a fact. The question of what we can now expect from the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] still remains open. First, however great its faction in the new Duma it will have strength only to cause the failure of anyone else's initiative but not to implement its own initiative. And it is hard to expect the other factions to vote in solidarity with the CPRF. Especially as in terms of initiatives the Communists were not doing well even before. Perhaps the only wholly "party" law in which its creators take pride is the law "on the prevention of a national catastrophe" is campaign material reworked in quasi-legal language. Even the committees for industry and social policy, close to the CPRF in terms of specialization, have been headed by Zhirinovskiy supporters while the Communists on these committees have shown no vigor. So that we should not expect a breakthrough in legislative policy.

It is already known which posts the CPRF intends to try for in the new Duma. Apart from retaining the present committees for the affairs of public associations (the chairman is Zorkaltsev) and for security (the chairman is Ilyukhin) they are predicting Maslyukov, former chief of the USSR State Planning Committee, for the post of chairman in the committee for industry and Savelyev, at present the faction's economic adviser, for the post of chairman of the committee for economic policy, and General Makashov for the defense committee. Moreover the party has the right to claim a minimum of one vice speaker's post (most likely Tuleyev will be nominated). So far it is unclear whether they will want to put forward their own speaker but if they do it will hardly be Zyuganov. This post is a move down for a presidential candidate, which is how he already sees himself. And so he will most likely try to give it to a member of the internal party opposition (Lukyanov, for instance) or a promising rival in the struggle for the presidential post from the other factions or the independents (Ryzhkov is not out of the question, if he gets through). Zyuganov himself will combine the posts of leader of the faction (in fact the leading organ) and chairman of the Central Executive Committee (formally the leading organ) and will retain full power within the CPRF, ruling it with a rod of iron.

This latter is vitally important to him. After all, in contrast to other communist parties, the CPRF is far from united internally. There are ideological differences between the orthodox majority, inspired by the ideologists from the RUSO (association of Russian scientists of socialist orientation) and Mr. Podberezkin's influential orthodox-chauvinist "spiritual heritage" center (its mouthpiece is the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA) which was close to Zyuganov personally back in the days of the National Salvation Front. There is no need to mention the leader's personal convictions. If we are to believe his recent statements Gennadiy Andreyevich is a social democrat. But people who know him are in no doubt that if he has the chance of becoming president with anti-Communist slogans he would jump at the chance, as they say. But more important than all the ideological differences within the CPRF is the fear of its majority in the fact of the leader's dictatorial ambitions. Many of his most far-sighted fellow fighters — Tuleyev, Lukyanov, Goryacheva, Kuptsov, and others — were even afraid of too impressive a victory at the parliamentary elections, believing that it would merely encourage his already immoderate presidential ambitions. Yet within the framework of the present political system the party cannot dictate its collective will

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to "its own" president. The CPSU and "Democratic Russia" have been convinced of this for themselves in the example of, respectively, Gorbachev and Yeltsin. And so the party principle is unequivocal — abolish the post of president or make it nominal. And Mr. Zyuganov will need all his influence to force the part to review that principle.

There is one more stumbling block on the CPRF's path. Statistics for roll-call votes show that the bigger the faction the harder it is to control. We were convinced of this for ourselves in the examples of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Russia's Democratic Choice, and the communist party itself. What is the worth of the classic example of a faction voting against the budget for next year while the leaders, including Zyuganov himself, vote for it. Yet never before has there been such a big faction as the CPRF will now have.

And one last thing: Success can not only split the Communists but also unite their adversaries. I am not only speaking of the democrats. But there are other forces in business circles and in the state apparatus who would not like to see Mr. Zyuganov as Russian president. And they could begin a campaign right now to nominate a single alternative candidate for the 1996 elections. But that is a somewhat different subject. So far we can note that the CPRF and its leader personally have managed to win a moral victory, but no more.

TV Carries Yeltsin Comments on Duma Cooperation

LD2012160495 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Dec 95

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has said today what he thought about the preliminary results of the elections to the State Duma:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The elections have passed satisfactorily. We will work together with the State Duma, in cooperation with it, conducting the policy of democratization and the policy of defending human freedom and human rights, the policy of reforms, the policy which Russia has initiated and from which it will not depart. We have no reason to worry, and we have no reason to view the elections as some sort of tragedy. Most of those who have been elected to the State Duma are following a democratic path, and that is why they will help us. [end recording] [passage omitted: Yeltsin shown giving awards to ministers] [video shows Yeltsin standing, speaking to a group of people]

Further on Yeltsin Election Comments

LD2012135695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1252 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 20 — "We have no reason for concern or regard the elections as a tragedy," said Russian president Boris Yeltsin at a ceremony of awarding army generals held at the "Barvikha" sanatorium in the Moscow countryside today.

During the ceremony army generals Mikhail Barsukov, Anatoliy Kulikov, Mikhail Kolesnikov and Andrey Nikolayev were given an honorary award — a "Marshal star".

The president said that the Communist Party had won 20 percent of votes, it was followed by the LDP, while the Agrarian Party had not cleared the five percent mandatory barrier. "The majority of newly elected Duma lawmakers are the people who are carrying through and will pursue a policy of democratization ensuring people's rights and freedoms," Yeltsin said, adding that Russia had launched these policies and would not go back from them.

Yeltsin believes that the elections were held satisfactorily. The president pointed out that there is no need to fear a big number of communist parliamentarians. As an example, Yeltsin said that CIS countries neighboring Russia have many communists represented in their parliaments. However, "these countries are taking an opportunity to follow a democratic course in their development," the president noted. At the same time he stressed that "the road of Marxist ideology was criminal for Russia and we shall not let it happen."

The president regards a high turnout at the polls (63 per cent) as the recognition of the existing authorities, the government and all structures which are in federal subordination. Yeltsin reminded the audience of the fact that the elections in Russia were closely followed abroad since the future of the Russian politics would depend on those who came to the State Duma.

Yeltsin Aide: Yavlinskiy Chances At Presidency 'Weak'

MK1912105295 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 2

[Interviews with Mark Urnov, chief of the Russian Presidential Analytical Department, and Georgiy Satarov, presidential political adviser, by Grigoriy Ivanov:

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"Yeltsin's Chances Apparently Improve. Appraisals by Presidential Analysts" — place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] The election results are assessed by Mark Urnov, chief of the Russian Presidential Analytical Department.

[Urnov] I cannot say that the results make me happy, but they were predictable. As I expected, a consolidated leftist opposition will constitute one-third of the new Duma.

[Ivanov] With such a tilt to the left in the Duma, what is your forecast for the presidential elections?

[Urnov] I think that Yeltsin's chances are getting better. As always, the leftist electorate has proved to be more organized. Pro-reform regions have yielded the fewest votes. If reform-minded people finally understand that it is time to stop playing the fool, fielding 10 candidates in one single-seat constituency and getting into a fight with each other at interparty debates, and that it is time to rally around a real leader, then this will contribute to corresponding voting results.

[Ivanov] What are Yavlinskiy's chances in the presidential election?

[Urnov] Rather weak. As the experience of his electorate shows, they like to support Yavlinskiy, but, closer to an election, his electorate goes to other candidates.

[Ivanov] Why has the KRO [Congress of Russian Communities] failed?

[Urnov] The KRO has "fallen" by exactly the same degree that the LDPR has "risen" — they have the same electorate. [Urnov interview ends]

Georgiy Satarov, presidential political adviser.

[Ivanov] Did your forecasts coincide with the election results?

[Satarov] I was rather cautious and therefore stated consistently that forecasts are senseless and each time predicted different lineups.

Zhirinovskiy Bid for Duma Posts Seen As 'Bluff'

MM1912154195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Sergey Chugayev: "Victorious Parties in a Hurry To Share Out Duma Portfolios"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As soon as the preliminary election results emerged the victorious parties — the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] and LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] — set about the fascinating task of sharing out leading portfolios in the next Duma. Unsurprisingly, the initiative in this matter has been seized by V. Zhirinovskiy, who has already told the public of his future faction's claims to the leadership of key Duma committees — defense, budget, and international affairs. So far as is known, the LDPR leader himself would have no objection to the post of speaker of the next Duma.

However, all the indications are that V. Zhirinovskiy will run up against tough competition from the Communists here. Despite the recent statements by A. Lukyanov that he does not want to become leader of parliament once again, information from well-informed sources indicates that both A. Lukyanov and his party badly want this. However, matters may not reach the point of a clash between the CPRF and the LDPR. So far as we are aware, talks are already under way between the Communist and Liberal Democrat leaderships. In the event of a compromise the LDPR is prepared to support A. Lukyanov.

But, most likely of all, both the Communists and the Liberal Democrats will ultimately have to content themselves with posts of first deputy speaker in the top Duma leadership. As experience of our parliament's present lower chamber demonstrates, small deputies' associations and independent legislators will scarcely allow a representative of a major faction to ascend to the post of Duma chairman. So the identity of the next Duma speaker is still the most interesting question.

As for the first deputies, as can be judged from available information, the present Communist and Liberal Democrat representatives in the Duma presidium — G. Seleznev and A. Vengerovskiy — can scarcely expect promotion. It is not impossible that they will have to serve out their term in the Duma as ordinary deputies. Thus we can see that, without conferring, G. Zyuganov and V. Zhirinovskiy have decided to carry out a purge in the upper echelons of their parties. And it is easy to see that the victims are their most skilled and professional colleagues. It is hard to shake off the impression that the party leaders are removing dangerous rivals who have done their job.

The situation inside the LDPR, despite V. Zhirinovskiy's talk of victory, is by no means euphoric. Many party members, particularly those from regional organizations, are openly speaking of the possibility of disintegration, regard the election results as a defeat, and blame the party leader for everything. The regional Liberal Democrats are particularly indignant at the leader's order right on the eve of the elections to withdraw candidates in certain first-past-the-post districts. Malicious tongues inside the LDPR claim that V. Zhirinovskiy was acting out of mercenary motives in doing this.

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If you shake off the hypnotic impression made by the fact that the LDPR came second in the elections, it transpires that, even according to the most optimistic forecasts, the Liberal Democrat faction in the next Duma will consist of no more than 30 deputies (there are 55 in the present Duma). It is quite likely that the "Russia Is Our Home" association will be comparable with V. Zhirinovskiy's faction. Given this disposition of forces the Liberal Democrats' claims to control over key Duma committees look hopeless. Even at the time of his power V. Zhirinovskiy could obtain only secondary committees.

Informed sources inside the LDPR believe that their leader is continuing to bluff, including by stating his presidential aspirations. In fact, they believe, V. Zhirinovskiy's true aim is to "sell" himself and his party profitably.

The Communists' plans are clearer and more realistic. First of all they will certainly retain control over key committees such as the Legislation Committee (S. Goryacheva is tipped as its head) and the Security Committee. If the Agrarians do not make it into the Duma, the Communists will try to get hold of the Agrarian Committee. Serious attempts are also being made to install a CPRF deputy at the head of the Information Policy and Communications Committee.

Voters Show Yeltsin Policies Rejected

MM2112105095 Moscow PRAVDA ROSSII in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Chekalin: "A Complete Change of Direction. First Three Lessons of the 1995 Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] No sooner had the campaign designed to distort our ancient and recent history so as to discredit the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], an essentially futile campaign to judge from the final results, at last died down a little, than the authorities immediately launched a campaign to distort the significance of those results. However, this aim is glaringly obvious.

Lesson One: RUSSIA (or to be more precise eight out of every 10 voting citizens) REJECTED THE PRESENT POLICY OF B. YELTSIN AND HIS BOSSES AND HENCHMEN.

This policy was rejected even by those who voted for G. Yavlinskiy and B. Fedorov, even though the programs offered by these young lads are hardly different from Yeltsin's program. Indeed, no one really understands them, including, it seems, the campaigners themselves.

Lesson Two: RUSSIA HAS STEPPED BACK FROM CATASTROPHE BUT HAS NOT YET TAKEN A STEP TOWARD RECOVERY.

The country has taken one step back from the brink thanks to the fact that a considerable proportion — over 50 percent — of the population voted for the CPRF, "Communists-Working Party-for the Soviet Union," the Agrarian Party of Russia, and also N. Ryzhkov's and S. Govorukhin's blocs and other left or near-left movements. Furthermore, the bourgeois parties were given the gravest warning: That is the wrong way! But what is the right way to prevent Russia from being transformed into a purely raw-materials-producing colony with nuclear weapons in its knapsack, to restore, develop, and increase the scientific and production potential, and to restore people's sense of personal and national dignity?

Some parties and citizens have quite few interesting ideas on this score. That was shown, for example, by the recent International Forum on Information Technology and the conference of scientists at the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University on the conceptual bases and paths of development of contemporary economic theory. However, if the search for new ideas is to be mounted on a larger scale it will require larger-scale organizational measures. Brash claims such as "We are the only ones on the right road" are inappropriate here. There must be a creative impulse from the great mass of people and a breakthrough to achieve really new knowledge. There must be material and organizational support to ensure that this knowledge is quickly conveyed to the public. It is clear that now there must be unprecedented forms of self-organization of our society, as happened soon after the Great October Revolution.

The signal given by 17 December 1995 shows that the path that we have taken these past five years is not the right path for us. Russian society has glimpsed intuitively, with its inner eye, the brink of the abyss into which it is heading and is psychologically prepared for a complete change of direction toward the real revival of the country. It is now a question of intellectual preparedness.

Lesson Three: RUSSIA HAS EARNED THE RIGHT TO HAVE A NEW CAPITAL — AN INTELLIGENT CAPITAL LIKE THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

There is something unhealthy or at least unseemly about the fact that the entire country is moving at one speed while its capital is moving at another. The country votes for the left wing, Moscow votes for the right. Who is out of step? I shall give just one reason why the majority of the population in the capital have ceased to live the same life, think the same thoughts, and suffer the same

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problems as the majority of Russia's population. This has happened, I believe, because the bulk of the financial (usurious) and commercial capital is now concentrated in Moscow. For the sake of its security that capital sometimes flings scraps (or leftovers) from its table. Here is a minor but revealing incident. The first subway trains of the day (the 0600 and 0700 trains) have always been packed solid. In the past they were packed with working people heading for the plants, now they are packed with people who are going to trade at the Luzhniki stadium and in the kiosks which have sprung up all over the city. Engage in trade and usury if you can and want to. But the capital must be a city which produces things - - industrial output, expertise, and culture — not just services. Russia still has cities like that.

Troops Seen Deceived Into Voting NDR

MM2112100495 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 5

[Article by Anatoliy Makarov: "Ordered To Vote. Military Observer's Opinion of Elections in Army Units"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to preliminary figures from the Russian Defense Ministry working group on the State Duma elections, over 60 percent of servicemen in the Armed Forces showed a preference for the Russia Is Our Home [NDR] movement. This indicator is still higher in Leningrad Military District — approximately 82 percent of servicemen there voted for the NDR — and in Chechnya, where it was 76 percent. Of the 600 servicemen who voted at Russia's leased Cam Ranh base in Vietnam 74 percent cast their votes for the NDR.

If official propaganda is to be believed, servicemen voters supported the NDR movement and other "democratic" trends and blocs because they "advocate stability." The overwhelming majority of people in uniform failed to understand that Chernomyrdin's stability means continuing the policy of restoring capitalism in Russia, selling off its national riches at reduced prices, and turning the mighty power into a colonial appendage of the United States. In order to fulfill these tasks, the NDR needs an atmosphere of nonresistance and tolerance on the part of those who are suffering — the overwhelming majority of our country, including servicemen, their families, and civilian personnel.

The results of servicemen's participation in the voting in isolated sectors outside Russia are also of interest. There over 70 percent of servicemen's votes were cast for the NDR movement's candidates. In the Black Sea Fleet, in particular, the NDR movement received 42 percent of the votes, the For the Motherland! electoral bloc got 23 percent, and the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO] got 13 percent. Servicemen there have still not abandoned their illusions and continue to expect the Russian Federation Government to resolve their everyday problems. Meanwhile, as a result of the attentions of the Yeltsin-Chernomyrdin tandem, the Black Sea Fleet is now only half as strong as the Turkish Navy in terms of combat potential. After the transfer of ships and bases to Ukraine, which is being conducted to the detriment of Russia's national security, the Turks will be eight times stronger at sea, and the Black Sea Fleet will be cast back to the end of the 18th century. In the Dniester region 43.2 percent voted for the NDR, 12.9 percent for the KRO, 10.9 percent for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], and 9.8 percent for the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation]. There, as well as on the territory of Belarus, where Russian Strategic Missile Forces units are stationed, officers and ensigns face tough conditions. Their service and their future are entirely dependent on the command, which in turn depends on the will of the minister of defense and, if the military department head's instructions are not carried out, could incur major unpleasantness. It was the prospect of an early discharge and of living from hand to mouth in what has become a foreign country that made many cast their votes for the NDR.

On the whole, 97.6 percent of Armed Forces personnel participated in the voting, including 94 percent in the Strategic Missile Forces, 93 percent in the Ground Forces and Air Force, and 92 percent in the Air Defense Forces and Navy.

High voting activeness was displayed by the servicemen of Moscow Military District (99.7 percent), the Far East and Transbaykal Military Districts (98 percent), and Leningrad Military District (96 percent), as well as by instructors and students of military educational institutions (99.9 percent) and military construction workers (99 percent).

The voting figures are continuing to be processed, but the overall picture is clear: The generals have succeeded in fulfilling the promise which Defense Minister Pavel Grachev gave the head of government on the eve of the elections in response to Viktor Chernomyrdin's assurances that he would "clear the government's debts" to the Army and Navy before the end of the year. One good turn really does deserve another. But this must serve as a good lesson to the national patriotic forces if they intend to nominate their own candidate for the presidency. The ruling clique, which calls itself the elite, will still further strengthen its influence over the Army and Navy. All kinds of promises will be made, but their cost will become known only after the election. For

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the time being people in uniform have once again been afforded the right to die in Chechnya and in other hot spots so that the "democrat-reformers" can grow fat on the people's misfortunes and the Army and Navy, which are not needed by those who dream of our country as a colony, will die. The Armed Forces have capitulated under the onslaught from the national bourgeoisie and their foreign bosses. We did not invent the idea that Russia is great, but now there is nowhere to retreat to. Sooner or later the Army will remember its honor and will have its decisive say.

Czech President Praises 'Democratic' Duma Elections

LD2112125695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The outcome of the elections to the Russian State Duma is not surprising and reflects the political climate rather than any shift in power, [Czech] President Vaclav Havel said.

Above all, the president praised the fact that the elections were carried out in a democratic way and nobody questioned their course. He said that we should wait for the new parliament to be set up and begin work, as this will reveal the true balance of power.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 21 Dec

LD2112085095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0558 GMT 21 Dec 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 21 (Itar-Tass) — The outcome of the recent elections to the State Duma, the Lower House of the Russian parliament, are the principal topic in today's Moscow-based newspapers.

ROSSIISKIYE VESTI on President Yeltsin's reaction to Duma election results.

The newspapers quotes Presidential Aide Georgiy Satarov as saying in the Podrobnostiy (Details) TV program that the President of Russia " will work" with the newly-elected Duma.

Touching upon Boris Yeltsin's reaction to the preliminary results of the elections, Satarov pointed out "the President's disappointment with the high results achieved by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF)".

The Presidential aide did not rule it out that the President would offer a number of Ministerial portfolios to the Communists. However, CPRF representatives, Satarov believes, will not get a single key post in the government. His forecasts are that the CPRF faction in the Duma will have more than 150 members.

IZVESTIA on the work of sociological services on the eve of the elections.

An article to this effect drews a conclusion that "our sociologists made a slip in 1993. So, who would believe you if you lied once?" It is now difficult and it would take a long time to restore the prestige of sociological forecasts. The press has got to help the sociological services in this respect, showing greater exactingness to sociological survey publications, learning a little better itself. But, it is most essential to have a certain agency of socilological self-criticism and conscience — an informal association of authoritative scientists who would be able competently to judge the general successes and setbacks.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on factions' representation in the Duma.

The latest data provided by the Central Electoral Commission can hardly shock anyone any longer. One can say with a large degree of certainty that only four factions will be represented in the newly-elected Duna — those of the CPRF, the Liberal Democratic Party, Our Home is Russia, and Yabloko.

ROSSIIKISYE VESTI on financial reserves of banks.

The newspaper carries an interview with Aleksandr Livshits, Assistant to the President on Economic Affairs, who said that banks' participation in mortgage auctions has depleted their finacial reserves, which may lead to a production downturn in the first half of next year.

There is a way out, Livshits believes. It is essential to draw people's savings by using the mechanisms of share-owned investment foundations and State loans for this purpose.

IZVESTIA on the situation around the town of Gudermes, Chechnya.

The town has been blockaded by Federal troops from all sides while Dudayev militants are holding the line inside the town. Just as was the case during the January attack on Groznyy, most Chechens removed their families, women and children to mountain villages. Only militants and the local Russian residents, who have nowhere to go, have remained in Gudermes.

The newspaper's opinion is that one may have no doubts that the butchery, similar to the one that took place at the beginning of this year, during the storming of Groznyy, will be repeated in Gudermes in the coming days.

"Everything seems to indicate that this time a reprisal will be still more ruthless than was the case in Groznyy. The Federal troops' year-long experience in the conduct of combat operations has not been in vain."

IZVESTIA on guarantees for the supply of Caspian oil through Baku-Groznyy-Novorossiisk pipeline.

Russia, through the agency of its Transneft oil company, has given guarantees that it will ensure a steady transportation of early oil through the Baku-Groznyy-Novorossiksk trunkline from the Caspian oil-fields of Gyuneshli, Chirag, and Azeri, where an international consortium is starting up its operations, the newspapar reports.

An intergovernmental agreement to this effect is expected to be signed between Moscow and Baku in the coming days. Thus, the Baku "contract of the century" worth 8,000 million U.S. dollars, is entering a decisive stage.

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NATO May Hold Exercise Close to Northern Border

LD2012204995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MURMANSK, Dec 20 (Interfax) — Head of the Murmansk region administration Yevgeniy Komarov has said that NATO may hold a military exercise close to Russia's northern borders. Komarov told a news conference on Wednesday he was briefed on NATO's plans by the Norwegian Defense Minister Jorgen Kosmo at their meeting in Murmansk earlier in the day.

Meanwhile, the commander of Russia's Arctic border guard troops group, Konstantin Pleshko, and Northern Fleet commander Oleg Yerofeyev have held an urgent news conference in Murmansk following the Norwegian Defense Minister's statement.

Yerofeyev believes that "activities by NATO's military-political leaders are destabilizing the situation in the Arctic region of Europe."

Pleshko said that the frequency of NATO's exercises in Norway had grown, too. He also pointed out that intelligence operations were being held openly and challengingly.

Komarov took a tough position, saying that the Norwegian parliament had for the first time since NATO was founded made a decision to hold a military exercise in the border province of Finnmark. Murmansk's governor predicts that the Leningrad military district will make an adequate response and most likely hold a military exercise in border areas, too.

Komarov said that according to his sources the Pskov airborne division had been airlifted to the Murmansk region to the bank of the Pad river. "Tanks will be moving along the roads. What kind of movement of travellers and business people across the Russian-Norwegian border can one talk of in a situation like this?" Komarov warned that this would by no means promote mutually-beneficial relations.

Chance Seen To Correct Foreign Policy Errors

MK2012151595 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 86, 17-24 Dec 95 (Signed to press 19 Dec 95) p 5

[Analysis by Sergey Karaganov, doctor of historical sciences: "The West and Our Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The main question that was asked in the run-up to the elections was depressingly repetitive and simple: Will Russia's foreign policy shift toward yet greater toughness, and how profound will this shift be?

The answers boiled down to the fact that the greater part of the domestic political elite is not interested in confrontation; that a turn away from unquestionable emulation of the West occurred a long time ago and will hardly go any further; that, rhetoric apart, virtually nobody in Russia wants or is able to pay for a course toward confrontation and expansion; and that if people who enjoy greater trust among the Russian elite are at the helm of foreign policy, it will be easier to cooperate with them. These answers were apparently accepted, but doubts remained.

They remained because the doubts of Western observers stemmed not only from a misunderstanding of Russian reality, from what had become the legendary unpredictability of policy, and fears that ultranationalist, anti-Western forces could come to power. The main thing is apparently that the West is beginning to take a new look at Russia.

The West has revised its policy with respect to this country. They are tired of perceiving us as a capricious child who has to be calmed, fed, and given medical treatment. Increasingly we are beginning to be treated seriously. Against this backdrop the glaring lack of policy coordination, hysterical statements, and the endless surprise shifts are beginning to be perceived not as growing pains, but as the new face of Russian politics. There is a growing belief that under these conditions Russia has no, nor can have any, resources to uphold its interests not only owing to its economic and military weakness, but also to its inability to organize and tap the existing possibilities. This belief is probably not quite correct: Along with the current weakening of the old structures of international relations and greater chaos in them, Russia preserves substantial negative possibilities not so much for maintaining its interests as for preventing others from pursuing theirs. But this belief has an objective basis.

It should not be forgotten that there are more than a few people in the West who would like to see the restoration of Russia's traditional role — an object of "containment," a factor which would at least partially restore the "status quo ante" and therefore stop the trend toward the growing unmanageability of the Western subsystem of international relations. These people will use the strengthening of the Communists and the preservation of the Zhirinovskiy party's positions in the Duma as an argument for achieving their objectives.

Finally, the situation is aggravated by the fact that the outside world seems to be increasingly inclined to "write off" the Russian president. Health problems are being

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put to the fore. But quite often lurking behind them are deeper doubts about the political longevity of the Russian leader.

No open pressure is being exerted on Russia. Our cooperation is needed in Bosnia and on a number of other problems. But the tone is visibly changing. Western leaders and diplomats are beginning to openly work with, or even for, opposition party leaders. Recent articles and statements by U.S. diplomatic representatives in Russia — unusual for the accustomed tone of relations between the two countries — are yet another sign of these changes.

Western politicians, both publicly and confidentially, unequivocally reject any possibility of presidential elections being postponed.

You can continue to be offended and outraged over the real or imaginary signs of disrespect for Russia, to be hurt by changes in tone, and suspect the West of wishing to use the shift in the mood of the Russian people that manifested itself in the Duma elections as a pretext for further movement toward the "neo-containment" of Russia.

But these and the next elections can also be used to create a single, credible system of policy coordination, to put in place normal state discipline: In international dialogue, even parliamentarians, let alone state officials, must defend and promote the same positions. To get rid of the most unpopular figures. Finally, after making a sober assessment of interests and possibilities, to formulate a foreign policy course. In spite of the Duma's limited foreign policy prerogatives, it will be very important from the very start to involve it in the foreign policy process and not to repeat the mistakes made with respect to the previous parliament. The Duma on the side of state foreign policy, not in opposition to it, is a substantial asset of this policy. Of course, efforts will be needed not only on the part of the executive branch; the new Duma itself should also show maturity and readiness for joint work.

Such steps will seriously strengthen the international positions of the Russian state. We shall begin to build up forces for advancing and defending our interests more successfully with every day. To be sure, we shall achieve real power and real respect only when we ensure economic growth and consolidate the democratic Russian statehood. Let us hope that these and subsequent elections are steps in this direction. But it is wrong to wait until the next elections. It is already necessary now to engage in some self- organization in the foreign policy sphere. Otherwise, the unpleasant tendencies in the attitude of the outside world toward Russia will consolidate. And we shall have nobody to blame but ourselves.

Bosnia-Bound Peacekeeper Force Profiled

MM2012151695 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Colonel Aleksandr Oliynik: "The 'Blue Berets': Honor and the Motherland are Paramount. Reportage from the Russian Peacekeeping Forces' Separate Airborne Brigade"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, Ivanovo — "Honor and the Motherland are paramount!" Those words are inscribed on the sleeve badge worn by the servicemen of the airborne division stationed in Ivanovo, the "calico capital of Russia." This motto is also sacred to the officers and men of the Russian peacemaking forces' Separate Airborne Brigade which has been formed on the basis of the division's units. [passage omitted]

What does the brigade consist of organizationally? It consists of a command element, two (possibly three) battalions (the first is being formed in Kostroma, the second in Pskov), plus a self-propelled artillery battery and some support subunits. It will include a reinforced intelligence group, a communications company, a medical platoon, a material support company, a military police platoon, and other subunits essential to the fulfillment of the peacekeeping mission.

It is well known that the operations of the collective forces' combined and other units in Bosnia will be backed up not only by light weapons but also by heavy weapons including tanks and self-propelled artillery systems. The Russian brigade will also contain airborne fighting vehicles, self-propelled artillery pieces, and armored transports of various types. The brigade will be assigned a separate vehicle company which has been formed in the Volga Military District.

In all the brigade will have 1,500 officers, NCO's, and contract soldiers. The vast majority of the officers and NCO's have combat experience and have served in Afghanistan and Chechnya. Many of the sergeants and men have fought in Chechnya. In short, these are people who know the price of life and death, and that is of no small importance for the fulfillment of the difficult peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

"For me, the main criterion is whether you can count on people in battle," Colonel Aleksandr Lentsov, the brigade commander and until recently deputy commander of the division, told me. "We tried to select the command and control echelon and commanders at various levels according to that principle."

I spoke with Col. Lentsov in Ivanovo while he was on the move, so to speak. On that day he was hurrying off for a routine assignment in Moscow from where he was

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going to the headquarters of the U.S. 1st tank division in Germany because the Russian brigade is going to be collaborating with that division in the Posava corridor in northeast Bosnia.

Aleksandr Lentsov is 39. He was born in Kholmsk, in Krasnodar Kray. He graduated from the Ryazan Higher Airborne Command College and the Frunze Military Academy with distinction and a gold medal. He served in Afghanistan and Chechnya and has been awarded the Order of the Red Star and the Order of Bravery.

Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Solovyev, brigade chief of staff, is a good match for the commander. According to his fellow servicemen he is an outstanding staff officer and speaks several languages, including Serbo-Croat. In 1990 he graduated with a gold medal from the Rakovski Military Academy in Bulgaria. After his assignment to Chechnya he was awarded the order "For Distinguished Military Service."

Lt. Col. Solovyev has already visited the headquarters of the U.S. division stationed in the small German town of Bad Kreuznach, where he was introduced to the commander, Major General William Nash, and the chief of staff, Colonel Michael Brown.

According to Solovyev the Americans are well of aware the complexity of the forthcoming peacekeeping operation after their failures in Somalia and Rwanda and they make no secret of this fact. In conversations with Russian officers they stressed that they intend to treat the opposing sides — the Serbs, the Muslims, and the Croats — in strict accordance with the Dayton agreements. The Americans need not just a success in Bosnia but a bloodless success.

"The rule of law, justice, and the protection of citizens" are the main principles of the peacekeeping mission which the Americans are now instilling in their own troops by every possible means, according to Solovyev.

Let us pray to God that these undoubtedly correct principles do not have to be upheld in Bosnia by force of arms. It is no secret that the main aim of this largely unique peacekeeping operation is the rapid, mass deployment of the 60,000-strong contingent of collective forces and of the means assigned to them for establishing control over the whole territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The United States is allocating 20,000 servicemen in all. A further 3,000 will carry out support operations outside Bosnia. Approximately 9,000 will take part in providing sea and air cover.

The NATO countries' contributions to the operation vary. For example, Britain is sending a 14,000-strong contingent, the French contingent is between 7,500 and 10,000 men, the Italians will be supplying 2,100 men, and the Canadians between 1,200 and 1,500....

As far as one can tell the Russian contingent will be fifth or sixth largest among the participants in the multinational forces in terms of numerical strength. The Russian "blue helmets" battalion stationed in the Sarajevo region will most probably be transferred in full or in part to the Posava corridor in northern Bosnia linking the western and eastern areas of Serbian lands where it will join the separate brigade.

D-day is set for 30 December. According to the plan drawn up by U.S. General George Joulwan, the supreme commander of the multinational forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, together with Colonel General Leontiy Shevtsov, deputy supreme commander of the peacekeeping forces in charge of the Russian troops, that is the day that stage one of the five-stage operation — when the advanced detachments of the collective forces are due to go into Bosnia — is scheduled to begin.

According to Colonel General Yevgeniy Podkolzin, commander of the Airborne Troops, there are two options for the shipment of the personnel and combat hardware of the Russian peacekeeping forces' separate airborne brigade into Bosnia — by air or by rail. Military Transport Aviation aircraft and military trains have been set aside for this purpose....

It should be noted that the participation of the Russian contingent in operations abroad requires the decision of the upper house of parliament — the Federation Council — and there is every indication that the discussion of this question will not be easy. Nor have the specifically financial questions been settled. It has not been decided what kind of allowances our officers and men serving in the collective forces will get or, more importantly, where they will come from, what death or injury rights and benefits they will have, and so forth. But these are all matters for the politicians, the legislators, and the executive.

As for the Army, the military as always are doing everything possible to ensure that they are properly and qualitatively prepared for the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia. Prepared to the highest international standards.

Foreign Ministry Alarmed by Allegations Against Oleksy

LD2012190395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1743 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 20 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Russia is alarmed by attempts to sow discord in relations between the Russian Federation and Poland. So says a message issued today by the Russian Foreign

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Ministry to ITAR-TASS. The message stresses that, "according to information from Poland, certain circles in Poland are accusing Jozef Oleksy, chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, of cooperation with the Soviet KGB and subsequently with the Russian special services."

"As is known, Russian competent bodies have already provided very clear and unambiguous clarification on this matter," the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department says. However, the document stresses, the Russian side "is understandably worried by the fact that the 'exposure' is sowing discord in Russian-Polish relations, and is being used to fan domestic political tension in Poland, threatening stability and the future of democracy in a country which is one of our closest neighbors."

"The Russian side", the Foreign Ministry Department stresses, "hopes that responsible circles in Poland will show common sense and confirm their adherence to the democratic choice. In future, too, Russia intends to build relations with Poland on the principles of mutual respect and good-neighborliness, and to develop cooperation with Poland in all spheres."

Origin of Missiles for Iraq 'Shrouded in Mystery'

MM2012175295 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 7

[Report by own correspondent Dmitriy Kulik: "Whose Missiles Did the Jordanians Intercept?" — first paragraph is introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Damascus — It is hard to find this news from Amman in the mass media, but at the same time Western officials are gleefully discussing it at Near Eastern diplomatic rounds. We are referring to the attempt to sell Russian missiles via Jordan to Iraq. What actually happened? We decided to investigate.

First came news from the UN special observers that "Russian missiles destined for Iraq were intercepted at the airport in the Jordanian capital." So far as we know, in fact there were no missiles; the reference was to 150 components for these Russian-produced most "lethal devices" worth a total of 25 million rubles. The "freight" was detained in Jordan on its way to Iraq.

Where did these components worth a substantial sum come from? They were not shipped from Russia, we discovered. But at the same time our present allies, the Americans, are saying with glee here in the region that Russia, violating the UN embargo, is "supplying weapons to Saddam Husayn." The Russian components for long-range missiles were purchased by a Palestinian from the Gaza strip, but who specifically concluded the deal has not yet been established.

In general the whole story is shrouded in mystery. "All of a sudden" the "Russian missiles" are discovered at Amman airport after a tip-off from U.S. intelligence and the Jordanian special services. A scandal erupts. In response Baghdad confirms that "a certain" Palestinian businessman had twice offered the Iraqis Russian weapons, but each time he met with a refusal. This deal would have been fatal for Iraq, which is suffering from international sanctions. In this case the United Nations might have tightened the embargo, and Saddam Husayn would have appeared in the eyes of the whole world as an "underground weapons trader." Russia would have appeared in the same role....

Baghdad made its protest, called the "missile deal" a provocation, and blamed the CIA for everything. Whether this is true or not, when the Iraqis gave the UN commission evidence that they had not purchased the Russian components, the Americans unexpectedly fell silent, venting their anger behind the diplomatic scenes. It had obviously become clear that the operation to "expose" Iraq and Russia was rather crudely cobbled together.

Nevertheless, the missile components are not disappearing from the scene. Who sold them? A theory has emerged that Ukraine or Kazakhstan was involved in the deal. However, this will be shown by further investigations, including ours.

Japanese Fishermen Violate Russia's Maritime Border

LD2012155995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1250 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By Eduard Popov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VLADIVOSTOK, Russian Far East, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — Five Japanese fishing schooners violated the Russian sea border in the area of the Kunashir strait, South Kurils, last night.

The Pacific border district dispatched the Bug coastguard boat to drive away the unwanted guests. The Japanese vessels hurriedly left Russian territorial waters.

Japanese schooners entered Russian territorial waters some seven kilometers deep, Itar-Tass learnt from the Federal Border Service on Wednesday.

The Bug boat, belonging to the Malokurilskaya brigade of coastguard ships, ousted Japanese vessels from Russian territorial waters without the use of weapons.

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The service stressed that the number of violations of the Russian sea border by Japanese schooners in the Pacific border district considerably dropped this year.

The illegal entry by the five Japanese schooners into Russian territorial waters last night was the first in December.

Yeltsin, Akayev Reaffirm Adherence to Economic Reforms

LD2012162895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1342 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Interfax) — Over 20 Russian-Kyrgyz economic and humanitarian agreements will be signed in the near future, said Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Kyrgyz counterpart Askar Akayev at a working meeting at the Barvikha sanatorium in the Moscow region, Wednesday. Akayev is currently in Moscow on a brief visit.

Yeltsin informed his Kyrgyz colleague of preliminary results of the Duma elections, sources at the presidential press service told Interfax. In his turn, Akayev informed the Russian state head of the final stage of the Kyrgyz presidential election campaign.

Yeltsin noted the great role of Akayev in ensuring stability and the development of democracy, and his help in consolidating friendship between the Russian and Kyrgyz peoples.

The presidents reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of democratic changes and economic reforms in both states, and called for further bilateral cooperation and strategic partnership in all aspects of bilateral relations, the Commonwealth, and regional and international politics.

Yeltsin and Akayev stressed the need to make full use of the reserves of bilateral economic cooperation and strive for further integration, and they confirmed the need for a customs union.

They focused on various aspects of humanitarian cooperation, including migration and the position of ethnic Russian in Kyrgyzstan, as well as deepening and increased efficiency of Commonwealth integration.

The presidents noted their satisfaction with the similarity of their views. Yeltsin invited Akayev to come to Russia on an official visit, and the invitation was accepted.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Expected To Alter Approach to State Duma

MK2012151395 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Natalya Konstantinova: "New Parliamentarians Prepare Surprises. What the Sixth State Duma Will Take Up First"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] The coming presidential elections in June 1996 are most likely to alter the policy of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin with regard to the State Duma. Tendencies that have been shaping up in Russian society over the past two years make it possible to forecast what it is that the new parliamentarians will start with.

They will hardly start right away on the more than 100 [draft] laws which, according to the president, were not passed by the previous lower house.

Without a doubt, the CIS's future will be one of the immediate questions. It is possible that the Duma will raise the question of the abrogation of the 1991 Belovezhskaya Pushcha Agreements early on, especially as the chances of making such a decision were considerable during the last voting in the old parliament.

Supposing such a vote takes place, one should not forget what reaction the Duma decision might draw from the new neighboring countries. Three or four republics, with the probable absence of Ukraine, could prove ready to create a new conglomerate out of the former Union republics.

Nor can one forget the fact that the abrogation of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha Agreements should imply the next step on the part of Russia and on the part of those who want to join in a new association of states. According to information from well-informed sources close to the Russian Federation president, there is already talk of such an association.

It is probable that should the Duma raise these questions, the president would be more loyal to it and that he would even agree to widen its powers under the Constitution, despite the fact that among the members of the Russian parliament are his direct rivals in the 1996 election.

The widening of deputies' powers in solving problems of state importance will certainly be one of the main questions the parliamentarians will raise. Otherwise, there will be a recurrence of the difficulties the previous deputy corps used to run into, which was shown by a certain degree of incompetence in the Duma.

The operation of the new parliament will largely depend on how clearly Boris Yeltsin spells out his unbending desire to run for the Russian presidency, although as he himself said, he will not officially announce this before February 1996. Boris Yeltsin will certainly do something that, most probably, will have a substantial impact on the future of CIS states that signal their desire to merge with Russia. The mere fact that Yeltsin will do something about that will give him a tremendous chance of remaining president of the country, which will be made up of more than Russia.

The previous Duma vigorously supported all proposals, statements, and agreements aimed at integration of the former USSR republics and support for fellow countrymen. The present parliament will be doing it with redoubled vigor. The interests of the president and parliament will coincide. Will the Duma want, under the circumstances, to raise the question of no confidence in its president? On the other hand, the Duma will bring together rather many of Yeltsin's potential rivals in the presidential election.

Thus, there is expected to be some consensus between the lawmakers and the head of state, on the one hand; on the other, the struggle for the presidency will the prevent Duma from doing its direct duties.

Perhaps the only chance for Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] to once again become president if elections take place in 1996, or to remain president if elections do not take place for some reason, is if he comes forward with an ambitious initiative, whose beginnings are already emerging today.

The victorious Communists will perhaps set aquiver the West, which will find it hard to figure out why they "aren't what they used to be" and "those who were here before are now far distant." [reference to Pushkin's line "Some are far distant, some are dead"]. But when my fellow countrymen think of the Communist country, they think of an "unbreakable union of free-born republics" [line from USSR national anthem], hence a strong country. Especially if they are going to continue their struggle for the revival of a single state. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin: Marxist Ideology 'Criminal' for Russia

LD2012182295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1731 GMT 20 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday [20 December] awarded Marshal Stars to Army Generals Mikhail Barsukov (Federal Security Service Director), Mikhail Kolesnikov (Head of the Armed Forces General Chief of Staff), Anatoliy Kulikov (Interior Minister) and Andrey Nikolayev (Federal Border Service Director).

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Speaking at the award ceremony at a sanatorium outside Moscow, Yeltsin described it as an unusual event in the history of Russia and that of its force structures because only a handful of people were awarded Marshal Stars.

IF Note: The Marshal Star established in 1940 and awarded to top army officials is a five-pointed gold star complete with a platinum star adorned with jewels in its center. It is worn on a moire ribbon around the bearer's neck.

Only Defense Chief Pavel Grachev and his Deputy Konstantin Kobets were awarded Marshal Stars.

Yeltsin told the four generals that they were in charge of force departments responsible for defenses, internal security and border protection, a task which he described as military, technical and political.

He said the generals must take pride in being awarded Marshal Stars at a time when Russia was carrying out reforms and making a breakthrough on the diplomatic front.

On last Sunday's State Duma election, the president said there was no cause for concern warning against dramatizing voting results.

Yeltsin spoke of widespread interest in Russian elections, some of it selfish or concerned because Russia's home and foreign policy would depend on the make up of a new Duma though he said "not in everything."

He stressed that opposition parties would be in minority. Yeltsin said the Duma majority would be formed by those who carried out the policy of reforms, democratization, liberties and human rights and that Russia would press ahead with that policy.

He described the voting results as satisfactory and called for contacts and cooperation both with the Duma and its leadership. Yeltsin sees no obstacles for the pursuit of the same policy because most of the new deputies who share democratic values "will help us."

The president said most Russians were opposed to Communist ideology. At the same time, he said there were more Communists in parliaments of other countries including the CIS states, but they found ways of cooperation and democratic development of their countries.

"The road of Marxist ideology is criminal for Russia and the Russians and we will never allow it," he said.

INTERFAX Interviews Chernomyrdin

LD2012153495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 20 Dec 95

["Exclusive" report No. 152: "Premier Chernomyrdin: Three Years in Office"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

Chernomyrdin: Stability in Europe and Asia is Our National Interest

The third anniversary of Viktor Chernomyrdin's premiership coincided with the State Duma elections, in which the premier-led Our Home Is Russia alliance easily cleared the 5%-hurdle. These two events were the main topics Prime Minister Chernomyrdin discussed in an interview granted to Interfax.

[IF] Is the edifice of Our Home Is Russia (NDR) situated in Europe or apart from it? What are the NDR's foreign policy priorities? How do you see cooperation with Western Europe and NATO to ensure European security? Why is Russia against NATO's enlargement?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course we are building our home in Europe, and not separately from it.

Stability in Europe and Asia is our national interest. We seek to prevent any crises that may pose direct military threat.

This is precisely why we are against NATO's enlargement eastwards. Whatever some in Europe and overseas may tell us, NATO will be a military alliance, and not just an international organization. It is quite clear that there are no military unions "for" something. There can only be military unions "against."

We are for a Europe where the economic, political and military interests of each country will be taken into account to the same degree. Security is inseparable. There can be no security for select few. There will be either one security for all, or there will be none. Equitable partnership is the sole way to genuine security. I believe that we have the right to seek it.

[IF] The shortage of investments seems to be the main problem facing the Russian economy. How do you see the most important sources of investment in the next few years to come?

[Chernomyrdin] An economic upturn will require major investments into restructuring and enhancing the effectiveness of all industries.

Certain steps have been taken along these lines already. We have been able to maintain a rather high level of funds accumulation, no less than 20 percent of the

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GDP. It is necessary to channel those resources into production, and not by decree, but on the economic basis, so that everybody should stand to gain. For this several conditions have to be met.

Firstly, price rises must be brought to an end. This precisely what the struggle against inflation is all about. Experience has shown that serious investments begin when prices grow by no more than 25-30 percent a year.

Secondly, there must be economic and political stability and the observance of law and order. Contracts must be honored, payments, including taxes, made on time, and ownership rights firmly protected. The state must guarantee the authority of the law. This is a no simple task and it must be fulfilled consistently and steadily.

Thirdly, the government must encourage effective investments, at least as long as investors are faced with great risks.

We are perfectly aware of all those conditions and have been working to meet them. Those who promise an economic recovery without that either cheat or don't know what they are talking about.

[IF] Your critics say that your government is turning many companies into monopolies, in particular, those in the oil and gas industry. They also claim that enterprises are often privatized through backstage deals, and not open market competition. Why are there so many monopolies? Hasn't this had a negative effect on the people and hampered the emergence of a middle class?

[Chernomyrdin] In the oil and gas industry, in the first place, the oil industry, there are about fifteen companies. I believe this is evidence enough that the oil business is being demonopolized. A mere three to four years ago the oil industry was entirely in the government's hands.

True, the new structure of the oil producing and refining industries has proved very difficult to establish, interests have clashed and the struggle for markets has been tough. As privatization continues, the risk of corruption remains high. We are aware of all these dangers and are trying to forestall them.

[IF] Why did the Communist Party receive more votes than any other party? Are people nostalgic about the past?

[Chernomyrdin] We are still in the transitional phase and a wide range opinions is quite natural. The emergence of market economies has inevitably caused proprietary stratification and most people have so far had no chance to feel the advantages of the new system.

One should also remember that income levelling lasted for seventy years and many got used to milking the welfare state.

These days, when a person's well-being depends on performance, many began to feel uncomfortable and nostalgic about the past. Nor should one forget that the ideas the Communists have been using, the ideas of justice and equality are very attractive. Yet I am certain that there will be no return to the past. Whatever the line-up of political forces, the transformation of the Russian economy cannot be reversed.

[IF] What specific law or package of laws should the newly-elected parliament pay attention to first thing?

[Chernomyrdin] I suggest starting with three most serious problems - crime, including white collar crime, lower taxes and the private ownership of land. These should be priorities. In a word, we need a new Criminal Code, Tax Code and Land Code.

[IF] Reformist forces were split on the eve of the elections. Why? Had everything been done to prevent this?

[Chernomyrdin] I can only deplore this. When Our Home Is Russia was founded last spring, we invited everybody who cares about the country's future and the future of reforms to join in. We do not rule out alliances with those who share our understanding of the strategy of reforms in Russia.

It is the hard fact that instead of three or four major associations reflecting the main trends more than 40 parties and alliances clashed for seats in parliament. Those forces which are sometimes referred to as reformist proved split. Attempts at unification failed.

Apparently, Russia is doomed to go through a period of political fragmentation. Yet I am certain that it is temporary. Big political associations reflecting the basic interests of the Russian electorate certainly have the future.

[IF] During one of your trips about the country you called for a referendum on the private ownership of land. Have there been any attempts to preview the results of such a referendum, should it be held? As everybody knows, rural residents, in contrast to urban ones, are against this. How government decisions of that sort are made?

[Chernomyrdin] It is not all confined to a referendum. Private ownership of land is written down in the Constitution, but there is no economic mechanism yet to translate that constitutional provision into reality. Such vital institutions as mortgaging and land banks still do

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not exist. There is no market of land. Our land relations we are still in the feudal stage.

Why is the private ownership of land necessary? This question is essential to the strategy of economic reforms. It will be impossible to develop market relations as long as land taken by lands taken up by industrial plants has now owner. As for farmland, nobody is going to sell it for next to nothing for foreigners. Moreover, we shall consider thoroughly who can be given the right to work on this or that plot of land. Potential owners may even be asked to take a qualification test.

[IF] Stability was the backbone of your election program. Does that mean that you are certain the government's economic policy is flawless? Don't you think it is necessary to seriously amend investment and social policies?

[Chernomyrdin] Nobody knows more about the government's mistakes than I do. Stability by no means implies stagnation. Amendments must and can be made, but they cannot stretch farther than we can afford. As far as investment and social policies are concerned, our financial potential, our budget impose certain restrictions.

In 1993-1995 Russia's budget potential was rather limited. Next year we shall have more freedom. Investments will grow and there will be more chances to deal with social problems.

[IF] What do you pin your hope for Russia's revival on?

[Chernomyrdin] Firstly, I have confidence in the creative potential of our people. We have everything necessary to give our people a decent life except for one thing - conditions to tap that enormous potential. We are trying to create such conditions now.

[IF] Do you think that at this phase of political and economic development the government should keep hands on economic controls?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, I do. The question is what should be understood as economic controls. We are faced with several most important tasks, in the first place, stabilizing the standard of living. The anti-inflation program must be taken to a logical outcome. If prices grow by no more than 1.5%-2% a month, there will be greater investments. This is the third area the government should keep an eye on - incentives for building up national capital. Lastly, natural monopolies must be kept under control, too, normal competition ensured and background cost-induced inflation fought against.

I believe that the government's role in the economy is determined by the need to solve these priority problems. As for specific methods, I am certain they will be prompted by experience.

Our market economy is still embryonic and government bureaucracy is playing a big role. I would avoid drawing any ideal pictures now. I am firmly committed to the fundamental idea that the economy must be controlled only if there is an urgent need to create and strengthen market structures.

[IF] Crime has remained one of the biggest problems in Russian society for everybody, including businessmen. Will new laws against organized crime and corruption be adopted in the near future? Will there be other initiatives in that field? Should tougher punishments be introduced for certain types of offences?

[Chernomyrdin] The president and government are seriously worried about the grave crime situation in the country. We shall mercilessly fight against crime and corruption. Order will be restored. The Interior Ministry and all other law-enforcement agencies have been set clear tasks. A federal program for fighting against crime has been drawn up for two years to come. Even before it was adopted more than 100 criminal gangs had been rendered harmless.

The toughest measures are being taken against corrupt officials, irrespective of their rank, but we are firmly against anything like 1937 purges.

We are for the adoption of laws establishing tougher punishment for particularly grave crimes against the person and property.

As for crimes and murders that accompanied the election campaign, they were in a sense prompted by extremist statements. I would like to ask all fellow politicians to refrain from any calls provoking violence.

Zyuganov Outlines Plans To Reform Russia

AU2112093595 Hamburg STERN in German 21 Dec 95 pp 168-169

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Communist Party, by Matthias Schepp and Bettina Sengling in Moscow; date not given: "Willy Brandt Is a Model"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [STERN] Do you want to go back to Brezhnev or Stalin?

[Zyuganov] No, we are looking forward, not back. That is why we got such good results.

[STERN] What do you want to do?

[Zyuganov] Even if we had 100 percent of the seats, we would not be able to push our ideas through. The

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president has the last word. Therefore, we must win the presidential elections in June.

[STERN] With Zyuganov as top candidate?

[Zyuganov] We will wait and see.

[STERN] You do not want to get into parliament?

[Zyuganov] We do. We want a coalition of all patriotic forces.

[STERN] Are you for democracy and a multiparty system?

[Zyuganov] We are against any state monopolies. The country's problems must be decided in a dialogue among various parties. We are for freedom of the press and of religion.

[STERN] Are you perhaps a covert social democrat?

[Zyuganov] Willy Brandt is one of my models, together with Ghandi, al-Nasir, and Fidel Castro. I like many of the ideas of social democracy. Recently, I met Oskar Lafontaine in Moscow — a good man.

[STERN] You often speak of reestablishing the old Soviet Union.

[Zyuganov] Germany was reunited, too. But we destroyed what had developed over 1,000 years. Half of my relatives live in Ukraine. I must show my passport when I want to go there.

[STERN] Leonid Kuchma, the Ukrainian president, will not give up his post voluntarily.

[Zyuganov] There is no need for that. No one wants to touch the sovereignty of Ukraine or Belarus. Europe is uniting. We must take this as an example.

[STERN] But Russia has the CIS.

[Zyuganov] We need closer relations, in particular in economic terms. The Baltic ports are empty. And we do not know how we can bring our goods out of the country. This is crazy.

[STERN] Some communists want to put Gorbachev and Yeltsin on trial for destroying the Soviet Union.

[Zyuganov] Journalists and historians should judge that; we reject historical revenge.

[STERN] Do you want to rescind privatization?

[Zyuganov] We communists are for a mixture of private and national property. Now it works the following way: Companies are privatized and then dismantled. The Mafia is pulling the wires. This must come to an end. The workers must become stronger again.

[STERN] Which companies should be in the state's hand?

[Zyuganov] Armament, oil, natural gas, railroads, science. The state must guarantee the education and health system.

[STERN] How do you want to pay that?

[Zyuganov] Russia has more than 20 percent of the world's coal reserves. One out of two cubic meters of softwoods come from Russia. But we sell all this for a glass of Fanta soda. The state must set down the prices.

[STERN] But the monopolies ruined the Soviet Union. Everywhere empty shops, queues.

[Zyuganov] Now, too, shops are empty 100 km from Moscow. No matches, no salt; 20 million unemployed.

[STERN] According to the official statistics, 2.2 million.

[Zyuganov] A lie. The factories are idle everywhere. The people are not permitted to work. If this continues, the people will take up clubs and destroy everything. We want to guarantee the subsistence minimum for everyone.

[STERN] How?

[Zyuganov] We must stop Russia's sell-out, reestablish our old markets, and protect our own market from foreign goods. Try to sell Russian goods in Germany — how many restrictions there are.

[STERN] Do you want to restrict foreign investments?

[Zyuganov] No, we need close cooperation with the West. But on conditions that are good for both sides.

[STERN] Recently you spoke of Russia as a semi-colony of the West.

[Zyuganov] Half of all goods come from abroad! Switch the television set on. All day there are films that even in the West no one wants to see: cheap movies from the United States, brutal and sadistic.

[STERN] But that is not the West's fault.

[Zyuganov] That is correct. It is the fault of those who buy this shit. We need a law that reduces foreign productions to 20 percent of the program.

[STERN] Others from your party say that the West intends to destroy Russia.

[Zyuganov] Let us stay with the market economy. It is logical: No one will raise a competitor. Some cold warriors want to destroy all of Russia — a disaster for the entire world. We have 27,000 nuclear warheads.

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[STERN] What about Helmut Kohl? Yeltsin and he are friends from joint sauna visits.

[Zyuganov] Kohl is a skillful and very strong politician. I will not comment on Yeltsin. There will come a time when Kohl will not like to remember how close he was with Yeltsin.

[STERN] What will the communist do if NATO expands to the east?

[Zyuganov] Then Russia will be forced to form a new bloc — regardless of who is in government. And the West loses a market with enormous raw material reserves. However, the thinking in terms of blocs is outdated. The world will not be able to bear a new arms race. We must urgently solve other problems: environment, electro-smog, new illnesses.

[STERN] Who are your models in Russian history?

[Zyuganov] Peter the Great, because he opened Russia toward the West; Tsar Aleksandr III, who strengthened and expanded Russia — without war. And, of course, Lenin, who rebuilt a destroyed state.

President, Premier Said Firm Against Government Changes

MK2112121495 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Belonovskiy: "Premier Has Something Cooler Than Mandate. General Rokhlin Prefers Trenches"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We are not going to see several top men from the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] list in the chamber the first day the State Duma goes into session.

MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has learned from circles close to the NDR leadership that they are, first and foremost, Chernomyrdin, who is going to fully concentrate on his work as prime minister, and General Rokhlin. According to MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS' information, the latter will soon set off for Chechnya to see the start of Duma work in the trenches. It was stressed that these shifts have no connection with a split within the NDR, but only with state necessity.

Having recovered from the elections and statements that followed from Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy to the effect that the premier's time is running out, the president arrived at the conclusion that "the devil is not as black as he is painted" and that these statements carry no special weight. As a result, the president and the premier, literally overnight, began talking in increasingly tough terms against any reshuffle in the government. The finale came when Chernomyrdin, after his regular meeting with the president on Tuesday [19 December], said loud and clear that there would be no changes in the government and the criteria for the selection of cabinet members would remain the same. This refers even to such a figure, "odious" for all Communists and many democrats, as Anatoliy Chubays.

Having, perhaps, considered all the possible options (according to MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS' information, the president's analytical services toiled from 17 to 19 December, never leaving the office for home), the country's leaders concluded that these statements only make tremble the air, but in no way the government.

Zhirinovskiy: 'Washington' Decides Who Governs in Russia

BR2012144295 Turin LA STAMPA in Italian 20 Dec 95 p 7

[Report by Giulietto Chiesa on 19 December press conference in Moscow by Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy: "Zhirinovskiy: Me, Defeated? Wait and See"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow — Vladimir Volfovich, how do you feel? Are you pleased with the election result? Zhirinovskiy paced through the corridors of the Duma before his press conference, surrounded by bodyguards, by his closest aides, by his shadow cabinet. He looked sadly at his shoes and tapped his toe against the red stair carpet. He was thoughtful amid the throng, and chewed his bottom lip. "It is an excellent result. We came second."

[Chiesa] Who will be your allies in the new Duma?

[Zhirinovskiy] I will tell you, I will explain it all to the reporters. We will not ally with anyone, do you understand? In fact we shall see who is able to ally with us. We will issue our proposals on individual specific issues. If people agree with them, fine; if not, it will be a pity. [Zhirinovskiy ends]

Zhirinovskiy set off toward the Duma's "small hall," where the crowd awaited him. Dozens of television cameras, photographers, reporters, officials, who had been waiting expectantly for at least quarter of an hour for the rather dimmed star who has lost half his voters. "Goodness, what a lot of microphones there are on this table. I do not even have room to rest my notes," he observed. Actually he did not need to; he did not read from them at all. He began with his head lowered, like a ram. "Do not believe in fairy stories. Gaydar did not prevail; he is still excluded. Only four of us exceeded 5 percent. The figures are clear and will not change."

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[Correspondent] But your Liberal Democratic Party has lost almost 4 million votes since 1993. What are we to think about that?

[Zhirinovskiy] The Communists overtook us because they joined the farmers. Two parties in one — some force. [Zhirinovskiy ends]

He proceeded to condemn alleged electoral frauds. Indeed, it was not clear whether these were frauds or "technical errors." Zhirinovskiy took his time; he was not on good form. His arguments were only intermittently fluent and forceful.

[Zhirinovskiy continues] Whatever you may think about it, this is our second victory, in fact, the third — the Russian presidentials, the 1993 parliamentary election and the 1995 parliamentary elections. In June I will be president, and then the seventh Duma in Russian history, in 1999, will be entirely liberal democratic.

[Correspondent] What will happen in the meantime?

[Zhirinovskiy] What do you think will happen? It is six months until the presidential elections. Nothing will happen for the present. The Communists will ally with the democrats: Have you heard what Gorbachev says? And what Zyuganov says? The same things. Zyuganov and Gorbachev attended the same communal bath house. And Zyuganov lives in the same house where Yeltsin used to live. They are old Politburo friends. Except that Zyuganov is a little less talkative than Gorbachev and a little more stupid.

[Correspondent] But how do you explain the Communist victory?

[Zhirinovskiy] A lot of people have awoken from the democratic binge after having had their feet stamped on for the past three years. Now they have forgotten about the past, the repression and all the rest. It is understandable that they yearn for the days when a telephone call cost two kopecks and a subway ride cost five kopecks. And they are right, because Brezhnev did many good things. For instance, he built up Russia's industrial strength.

[Correspondent] So many of your voters voted Communist. Is it not that people thought that you do not represent the opposition sufficiently? Basically, everyone knows that the constitution would not have been approved in 1993 without your contribution. And you have salvaged Yeltsin more than once over the past two years. [correspondent ends]

Zhirinovskiy raised his head from the forest of microphones, looking pensive. There appeared to be possibilities — either that he would explode or that he would not reply. Wrong. He replied — calmly, even.

[Zhirinovskiy] We were confronted by two evils — either to be left without a constitution or to choose a bad constitution. We chose the lesser evil. And in any case I am in favor of a presidential republic. Apart from that, it is not we who agreed with Yeltsin, but he who stole our ideas. The journalists did what they usually do, and slung mud at us for two years. So people failed to realize that, without us, it would have been much worse.

[Correspondent] Let us look ahead. Will Yeltsin reappoint Chernomyrdin?

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not think so. What he says must not be taken seriously. He will throw him out in February. The Americans suggested Skokov, but after this result his balloon has burst. Now the Politburo that decides who governs in Russia is no longer in Old Square but in Washington. But it is unimportant who takes Chernomyrdin's place. In January we will hold our congress and launch my candidacy. Yeltsin will decide in February whether to stand. Either he or another member of his team, we shall see who. But who does he have? Nonentities — Lobov, Soskovets, maybe Chyubalis, who answers the interests of foreign capital. I will eat them whole. The Communists have three possibilities — Zyuganov, Ryzhkov, and Anpilov. But the Russians are well aware that they cannot place the country in the hands of a communist khan. They have examples of this in the other republics of the USSR. They destroyed the empire in order to take a slice each. The democrats have Yavlinskiy and Gaydar. After the elections Yavlinskiy will flee to London or, rather, Israel. Gaydar us finished. So that leaves three of us — me, Yeltsin, and Zyuganov. Zyuganov will be excluded in the first round. In the second round it will be me and Yeltsin, or one of his men. And I will win.

Soskovets Speaks of 'Serious Mistakes' in Privatization

LD2012151995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1342 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Interfax) — The Russian government is very concerned about the level of crime in the nation, including in the economic sphere, and serious mistakes have been made in the process of privatization, Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets said at an expanded session of the Prosecutor General's Office Board Wednesday.

"The issue of crime's influence on social-political stability in society is sharper than ever before," he said.

"The federal state program on fighting crime was not implemented to its full extent" due to miscalculations in organizational and juridical support, Soskovets said. At

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the same time, the Russian government is undertaking and will undertake measures to create a reliable system to fight crime. In particular, it looks for additional funds to finance the activities of the Prosecutor's Office.

Soskovets said that priority in the prosecutor's office activity will be given to preventing illegal actions in the economic sphere. "The process of privatization in this nation was accompanied by serious mistakes," Soskovets said. It was primarily caused by "the quest to privatize a high number of state and municipal enterprises, including the military-industrial complex."

"Many of these mistakes are being corrected thanks to the sharp reaction of the prosecutor's office and actions aimed at protection of society and state interests, strengthening combat efficiency and security of this country," Soskovets said.

Yavlinskiy's Political Evolution Analyzed

MM2012144795 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Dec 95

[Article by the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Analytical Service: "On the Market Demand for Overripe Fruit. From 'Yabloko to Ya-bloko'" — from the 'Political Milieu' section, p II]

[FBIS Translated Text] The "Yabloko" association was set up in the specific sociopolitical conditions of "post-perestroyka," and was geared toward its "own" specific voter — the typical representative of a stratum which is sizable to this day, that of former "Soviet officials," that is to say, people with a relatively high level of education and, in that period, with only slightly impaired material status. The subsequent severe decline in the standard of living of the traditional (Soviet) city intelligentsia and the offensive words hurled at this group of the population by the very ideology of the reforms ("If you are so clever, why are you still poor?") gave rise in this case to a mass upsurge of democratic feeling aimed at improving the reforms — an impulse personified by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy.

The image of "Yabloko's" leader, who ostentatiously left the government of Silayev (in which he had occupied the lofty post of vice premier) and then broke from the group of reformers who "went into power" (Gaydar, Fedorov, Chubays, Aven, Shokhin, and so forth) was the fullest expression of the prevailing mood of the former "Soviet intelligentsia," which had effectively been eliminated as a separate class during the transformations which had begun in the country.

Their traditional banal musings about new times, broad creative possibilities, and the sacrificial mission of the Russian citizen-intellectual were largely smashed against the inevitably tough prose of the reforms, the new, nonintellectual, realities, and the pragmatic figure of "the new Russian," who called the tune according to his own taste and ordered the cultural and intellectual garnish according to his own, expanding, demands and requirements. Sad though it is to acknowledge, the majority of creative personalities from science, culture, and education, who had campaigned more than anyone for democracy and the market, found themselves least prepared for the merciless free-for-all of the market (including the intellectual market) and for freedom from the state. As a result, a significant part of this group of the population is increasingly becoming marginalized, slowly drifting onto the wayside in the expectation of handouts from the state, from foreign charity funds, or from the new property class, whose representatives are clearly in no hurry to save the nation's intellectual potential.

Yavlinskiy became the standard-bearer of these people, who in 1993 formed the basis of his electorate and assured him the steadfast attention of the mass media, which are traditionally oriented toward the educated stratum of potential readers. His intellectual oppositionism, his image of a wronged and misunderstood Wunderkind, his essentially sincere but infantile desire to remain in a dream world and preserve the illusion of the possibility of carrying out reform "in the interests of the majority of the population," struck a deep chord within the slowly expiring "Soviet intelligentsia." They recognized themselves in "Yabloko's" leader: His resentment reflected their own resentment over their superfluousness in the new Russia; his anger reflected their own anger over their "aimlessly misspent years"; his self-assurance reflected the remnants of their own dignity and the desire to put up at least some kind of opposition to the collapse of their lifelong ideals.

"Yabloko's" relatively fair showing at the last elections (around 8 percent of the vote) was dictated by a further three (today redundant) organizational and political factors:

the activity of the structures of V. Lysenko's Republican Party, which belonged to "Yabloko" at that time and which in those days retained a clear pro-presidential orientation, as well as partial control over the then still relatively popular grassroots organizations of the former "Democratic Platform Within the CPSU";

the lingering memory of the "500 Days" program, which was perceived in the mass consciousness at the end of the tragic year of 1993 as a hope for the possibility of less painful (by comparison with the Gaydar version) entry into the market economy;

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the well-balanced and electorally attractive triumvirate of Yavlinskiy, Boldyrev, and Lukin, in which the association's leader personified a socioeconomic alternative, the former Russian ambassador to the United States personified a foreign policy alternative (based on criticizing the excessively pro-Western policy of Andrey Kozyrev), and the former leader of the Presidential Staff Control Administration personified the idea of combating the corruption of state apparatus employees, which the bloc actively raised to the pedestal of the new "enemy image."

The Republican Party of Russia is taking part in the elections independently, mistakenly hoping to reproduce through its structures the success of 1993 by simply repeating the tried-and-tested propaganda trick. The coupling of the names Pafilova, Gurov, and Lysenko repeats almost entirely the symbolic premise, focused on the population's negative emotions, of the "old Yabloko," (up to and including E. Pamfilova's statements of her intention to fight for the presidency). Vladimir Lysenko, who has quickly refocused the party's ideology toward the mythologems popular among pensioners and state enterprise employees, who nowadays form the nucleus of the "negative electorate," has proved more farsighted than Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. The major weakness of the latter's platform is that he remains the spokesman for the interests of the "aggrieved", while many of these have already become "indignant", and some are already reaching the extreme stage of the classical scheme.

Today precious few people recall the "500 Days" program, which caused such a stir in its day and which was geared toward the gradual transformation of the national economy of the former USSR and the creation of a market infrastructure based on ownership by labor collectives (a sort of variant of "popular capitalism"). The retention in Yabloko's current economic program of the old theses (a modified version of which was expounded by G. Yavlinskiy at the Russian-American Information Center in September), and also the idea of the tough management of macroeconomic processes proselytized by the bloc's leader, dissolve the specifics of his program — which are not easily grasped by the general public — in the current of oppositionist etatiste projects (in which it is simply senseless for Yavlinskiy to try to contend with G. Zyuganov's "civilized Communists"). On the whole, it can be stated that in recent years Yavlinskiy's reformist program, which has become significantly divorced from the realties of a dynamically changing Russia, has gradually mutated into a program for the objectively unrealistic restoration of the perestroyka illusions of a "socially oriented economy."

In order to implement this program it would be necessary either to return to the past (of several years ago) or to carry out a preliminary pro-Communist counterreform, the consequences of which the leader of the "overripe 'Yabloko'" [apple] would eliminate within the following "500 days" (most likely without substantial "chances of agreement" [translation of Russian title of Yavlinskiy book published in English as "Windows of Opportunity"]). Despite the widespread opinion, Yavlinskiy does not belong to the category of typical builders of a liberal economy, but remains a typically, and undoubtedly skilled, post-communist architect of perestroyka. And his main problem today is his failure to understand that this idea is now cherished by very few people either among those with money and power or the broad masses; the mass of people are weary of rebuilding and refurbishing Russia; they simply want to live in it, and by now panic at the thought of new experiments and experimenters. The much-trumpeted successes of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's already implemented programs (two "Nizhniy Novgorod prologues" and the "Moscow privatization" program) were, on the one hand, registered in the past (in different initial conditions) and on a nationwide scale can be characterized as "an armchair exercise," and, on the other, require for their realization not so much Yavlinskiys as new Luzkhovs. And where are so many to be found?

The personalities in "Yabloko's" leadership (its "seedbed") have substantially changed over the past few years.

The association's second most charismatic leader, Yu. Boldyrev, has clearly not got on well with the bloc's head. And, although it was announced at the association's last congress that "Boldyrev is with us" but that his auditing work in the Russian Comptroller's Office does not allow him to be nominated as a people's deputy, the very fact of his absence from the congress is very suggestive. Unlike the 1993 leadership, the new "Grigoriytes" can no longer present to the voter an abundance of popular and attractive personalities. The association has long been increasingly focused toward the will of one (or its final?) leader and his personal image.

Vladimir Lukin is increasingly substituted at "Yabloko's" public events by Viktor Shunin, which testifies to the association's shift away from criticizing Russian foreign policy to criticizing internal political realities from the standpoint of ensuring legality and observing civil rights. At the same time, the internal logic of the construction of the "old 'Yabloko's'" propaganda, the target of which was formerly the total incompetence of the powers that be, is being eroded. The old wholesale criticism is being replaced by measured criticism of wholly specific branches

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of power — mostly leveled at the president and his entourage. In this Grigoriy Yavlinskiy has become the bloc's principal, and, to all intents and purposes, its sole mouthpiece.

The essence of the changes which have overtaken the association headed by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy can thus be expressed in four words: "Yabloko" [Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc] has become "Ya-bloko" [Yavlinskiy Bloc or My Bloc]

What are the prospects of the "new Yabloko" at the forthcoming State Duma elections?

On the whole, despite everything that has been said above, the association headed by G. Yavlinskiy has retained the sympathies of the major part of those people who voted for it in December 1993 (an increasingly marginalized, and an ever less politicized educated stratum — especially tyhe section which has adapted to the new circumstances). It should be noted at once that we are using the concept of "marginalization" in a wider sense in this context, as a synonym for leaving the sphere of education, science, and culture for other spheres of socially useful work which are, as a rule, less geared toward spiritual values. In a number of regions with a traditionally high proportion of intellectuals (such as St. Petersburg and certain others) the personal image of "Yabloko's" leader consistently holds a respectable place in all kinds of ratings. But the enthusiastic esteem which he used to enjoy no longer exists.

Still (partly from inertia) summoning his voters to a new round of economic transformations, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is clearly poised on the brink of a highly significant political choice, to which there is for him almost no political alternative — either to uphold his image as a Westernizer, "the Chicago kid," "a reformer with a human face" (but then the loss of his traditional voter would become inevitable, and the present elections would be the last for "Yabloko"), or to follow the mood of that part of the electorate which remains rooted in negativism and pitch to share this vote with such "specialists" as V. Zhirinovskiy and S. Govorukhin (but then he would be forced to modify both his personal image and the personal composition of the association's leaders).

Failure at the elections is now unlikely, and holds no fears for Yavlinskiy personally. But even given a relative defeat (a repeat of its previous result) by the next elections the "Yabloko" political association will be finished once and for all. The bloc's leader undoubtedly realizes this, and the instinct for self-preservation of his brainchild is pushing Yavlinskiy toward tactical "Zhirinovskiyism," that is to say, maintaining a sufficient level of popularity by means of organizing or hyping various extrapolitical actions. We first saw this "new Yavlinskiy" during the scandalous incident — which he himself partly provoked — in the Central Electoral Commission connected with the registration of the association according to judicial procedure. The suddenly indignant "Yabloko" leader fired off a whole series of interviews and public statements, accusing all and sundry; but the main idea, of course, was not this, but to parade his own significance as the principal savior of Russia, whose participation in the elections spelled death for the current authorities. The result of the furor was easily predictable from the very moment that it arose and is well known — a sharp increase in popularity and guaranteed success in the parliamentary elections.

Sad though it is to acknowledge, the political market differs little from the commodities market, and here much is defined by the demand for and the advertising and packaging of the "products" offered. And just like those announcements that, for one set of reasons or another, sugar or milk will possibly disappear from the shelves, so the news that "Yabloko" would possibly not be participating in the 17 December elections gave rise to a flurry in demand for this very association. Possibly, this flurry of demand will hold out until 17 December. But it will only guarantee, as has already been said, a repeat of its previous result.

But even this will be in a certain sense a Pyrrhic victory. Yavlinskiy's new image as revealed in the process of the furor initiated by Ryabov and the bloc sharply reduces his chances of winning the "main prize," because, on the one hand, the furor deprived him of his traditional image of a calm, rational, and, accordingly, predictable politician and intellectual, and, on the other, prompted the old allegations that he is prone to conflicts and "slamming doors," the first example of which was his walking out of Silayev's government. In addition, in Russia people rarely like to thoroughly investigate whether he stole something or whether something was stolen from him; the main thing is that he was involved in a court case....

In the opinion of certain analysts, "Yabloko's" leader was presented with a magnificent chance by the refusal to register the bloc: tactfully and mildly, with a nuance of wise and understanding sorrow, to focus public attention on the wrong inflicted on him, and to take no obvious part in the parliamentary elections, but to play the role of a figure of silent reproach to everyone else, and carefully nurture a harvest of votes to be reaped at the presidential elections. But this opportunity, which was not very large even at the outset, has been missed. Moreover, the mutual antipathy of the two kindred "democratic forces" — "Yabloko" and the DVR [Russia's Democratic Choice] played a huge part

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there. The more nimble Ye. Gaydar reacted instantly to "Yavlinskiy's grievance" and cleverly raised the stakes, declaring his intention to boycott "elections without Yavlinskiy." This outwardly noble demarche by his perennial rival was for Yavlinskiy the signal to end his political exploitation of the scandalous episode, since his rivals were already repeing the fruits.

Some people have tried to compare November's situation in the Central Electoral Commission with the propaganda impact of Boris Yeltsin's departure from the CPSU. But this comparison does not stand up to criticism: The episode of the furor involving the Central Electoral Commission was too petty, too safe, and too propagandist, and essentially did not come up anywhere near the civic courage displayed in Boris Yeltsin's memorable opposition to the entire might of the party-state apparatus.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy was one of the first Russian politicians to state his desire to stand for the presidency of the country in 1996. And therefore, his public movement is increasingly taking on the features of a straightforward support group for a candidate for the post of head of state and is less and less reminiscent of a political party with a specific program reflecting the interests of its "target electorate."

Contemporary political experience shows that such is the fate of virtually all "named for" political associations, which have aptly been dubbed "steamship parties." Focusing on the broad stratum of people who are dissatisfied with the policy being carried out by the authorities (the so-called negative electorate), political formations of this kind, the most typical examples of which today are the movements geared toward Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, and Stanislav Govorukhin, play the role of gauges of mass discontent, and force the ruling circles into compromises and populist steps (such as the recent decisions to alleviate the financial situation of servicemen, pensioners, and defrauded investors.)

Russian electoral legislation, according to which all political associations are at every election forced to begin everything from scratch (the collection of signatures, registration of lists, and so forth), itself inevitably engenders chameleon parties which change their policy slogans and methods for delivering them in accordance with changes in the dynamics of the mass consciousness. This is possibly for the best at the current stage of the formation of democratic institutions, since to assign the status of traditional political forces (which set the rules of the political game) to parties of the current Russian political spectrum would at the moment be inappropriate, although desirable for many.

Structures which genuinely express nationwide interests are still only in the development stage, and Russia's political spectrum is still only beginning to expand in the direction of traditional opposition between empirists [impertsy], federalists, and strong-state nationalists. Parties and movements which have established themselves on the Russian political scene today were raised on a wave of mass political activity that was by and large not initiated by themselves; virtually all of them — to one degree or another — are timeservers. However much Boris Fedorov spreads out the cards of a future coalition government (in which he assigns the post of premier to Grigoriy Yavlinskiy — clearly understating his own ambitions), everyone understands perfectly well that the "500 Days team" is once again trying to pass off dreams as reality.

The 17 December elections will graphically demonstrate how far the process according to which timeserving parties produced by the impact of glasnost and unrestrained democracy are being driven out by Russia's traditional political forces (such as the new-model CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], the NDR [Russia Is Our Home], or the Congress of Russian Communities) has progressed. We think that over the course of the still continuing transitional period (from the post-perestroyka political system to a stabalization system) the chameleon parties, to which the "new 'Yabloko'" does not yet belong, but to which it is clearly gravitating, will receive their last chance to acquire relatively mass support from the electorate.

It should be noted that the association headed by G. Yavlinskiy has considerable chances of achieving success in this field. To the basic slogans of Zhirinovskiy ("Everything is bad and enemies are all around!") or the just as eloquent Govorukhin ("Everything is bad and you feel pain for the state!") he opposes a relatively new slogan: "Everything is bad and you feel pain for yourself, for your humiliation by the fact that you personally do not have the power to change anything!" Yavlinskiy's hobbyhorse is now becoming "total umbrage" at fate and everything around him. No one can win in Russia with such an emotional pitch. Speaking on television in his free advertising time, Yavlinskiy wasted it almost entirely on repeatedly taking umbrage at the brevity of the timeslot, which forced him "to deliver a report, like a young pioneer at a congress." This was perhaps a most accurate self-portrait: The image of a "rebellious son" breaking into an intellectual's falsetto (most successfully stressed by the author of the well-known "Kukli" show) could never have been, and will never be, associated with supreme state power.

Observing the leader speaking in the name of "all the sensible people of Russia" (no less!), we understand that

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political aims of this kind inevitably push him into campaigning for supreme power — the presidency. But his chances in this battle are extremely small, since in conditions of the stabilization of socioeconomic processes a man who, apart from the repeatedly discredited (unvarnished) idea of social justice and brand-new approaches to reforms has nothing and no one to offer; a man whose promises boil down to "settling scores with the people's offenders," as already noted, is not suited to the role of "father of the nation" traditionally demanded by Russian voters.

At the same time, the presence of real social tension and the intensifying stratification of society fuses the chameleon parties and their kindred political formations with the multimillion masses of the dissatisfied and simply frightened population (the famous "Zhirinovskiy effect" of December 1993). These permanent injections ensure them an albeit brief, but sometimes fairly remarkable political success. However, in this there is always a real danger of becoming hostage to the discontent of the masses and turning into an irrational instrument of compensating for their aggression by playing on this feeling, which is by no means the best of human emotions. Time will show whether Grigoriy Yavlinskiy in his new guise is ready to go to this extreme of political chicanery. But the first steps in this direction, it seems to us, have already been made.

Federal Assembly

Legislative, Regulatory Documents, 10-16 Dec

96P50028

[FBIS Media Note] The following is a listing of Russian legislation recently published in the press of the Russian Federation compiled by FBIS. Numbers within parens indicate approximate wordage. Entries followed by the notation "Text" have been translated into English and are available in FBIS publications.

SECTION I: ECONOMIC LEGISLATION (EXPORT-IMPORT, BANKING, PRIVATIZATION, AUCTIONS, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT)

Government 25 November Decree No. 1148 Ordering 1 December Fixed Asset Stocktaking In Industry. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 5) (650) (Text)

Government 27 November Decree No. 1136 Ordering State Support For Social, Economic, Development In Mari El Region. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 5) (1200)

Government 4 December Decree No. 1188 On Stabilization Of Socioeconomic Situation In Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, Social Protection Of Population Of Iultin In Connection With Closure Of Mining And Enrichment Combine. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4) (800)

Government 4 December Decree No. 1192 Ratifying Statute On Customs Representatives Abroad. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 5) (200)

Government 5 November Directive Approving, Recommending Wider Use Of Food Production, Processing, Marketing Experience Gained By Volgograd Oblast Administration 'Agris' Corporation, Plus Cherkasov Interview With Corporation President Vladimir Chaplygin On System's Benefits. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4) (400/500)

Federal Law No. 193, dated 8 December, 'On Agricultural Cooperatives.' (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 95 pp 3-6) (20000)

Second And Final Part Of State Taxation Service Instruction 39 On Procedure For Calculating And Paying Value-Added Tax. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 95 pp 14-15) (10500)

SECTION II: POLITICAL (INTERNATIONAL AND CIS AFFAIRS, ELECTIONS, CRIME, POLLUTION)

Government 5 November Decree No. 1100 Approving Draft Agreement (Not Published) On Signing Agreement With Slovak Republic On Cooperation In Civil Defense And Mutual Assistance In Emergencies, Empowering Emergencies Ministry To Sign Agreement And Make 'Nonfundamental' Amendments. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4) (400)

Yeltsin 1 December Edict No. 1208 On Presidential Council On State Service. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4) (250) (Text)

Yeltsin 6 December Edict No. 1220 On Presidential 'Roads Of Russia' Program. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4) (500)

Yeltsin 10 December Edict No. 1239 Establishing Strategic Missile And Space Troops' Holiday 17 December. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 1)

Government 12 December Directive No. 1713 Authorizing Finance Ministry And Vneshekonombank To Negotiate Loan Of Up To $65 Million From Japan's Export-Import Bank For Building And Equipping Oblast Medical Treatment And Diagnosis Center

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In Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 3) (300)

Federation Council Approves 1996 Budget, Reform Course

MK2012150095 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Yelena Medvedeva: "Parliament Has Left the Country a New Year's Testament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The story of Russia's 1996 budget has ended: Yesterday it was approved by the Federation Council. The government and parliament had decided to adopt the budget long before the elections. The State Duma fulfilled the plan but the Federation Council was somewhat late, and therefore yesterday's discussion proceeded in an atmosphere of post-electoral agitation. But everything turned out well in the end, and now the budget, which without a doubt will be immediately signed by the president, serves as a formal guarantee that Russia's economic policy will not change after the elections.

In the end everything happened as could long have been predicted. When the 1995 budget was being adopted, the government and parliament expressed their readiness to approve the 1996 budget just as expeditiously. The reason for such expeditiousness was not kept secret: It was necessary to adopt the budget before the elections, with the current composition of parliament. In the course of budget approval in the State Duma, the plan was fully implemented. The government insisted on a tough budget, but did not refuse to make some concessions (for instance, the projected monthly inflation level was increased from 1.1 percent to 1.9 percent, while an additional 4.6 trillion rubles was introduced into expenditures with rather vague sources for covering this). As a result, the Duma deputies were satisfied and adopted the budget before the elections. But the government still had some fears before yesterday's consideration of the document in the Federation Council — for example, that upper house members would reject the budget so as to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the law on the formation of the Federation Council, signed by the president. Neither could the government ignore the fact that the budget had received negative conclusions from the Federation Council committees on agrarian policy, social policy, and defense and security. Finally, there was concern over the fact that yesterday's consideration of the budget was taking place immediately after the preliminary results of the Duma elections were promulgated. On the whole the fears were justified. At any rate, all participants in the discussion were in a state of extreme nervous agitation. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who presented the budget, had an altercation with CPRF representative Aman Tuleyev, who wondered why the new budget did not reckon with the Communist-proposed pension indexation reform. Nikolay Gonchar, chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee, also looked extremely agitated.

Calling on the house to support the budget, Viktor Chernomyrdin described it as a "balanced document allowing forward movement in implementing the government course," stressing that, apart from other things, the budget will help attract foreign capital to Russia. Naturally, the premier did not overlook the budget-envisioned assistance for the federation components, which will make up 9 percent of budgetary expenditures; 15 percent of tax revenues are to go to the regional financial support fund. On the whole, Chernomyrdin said, next year "will become the first year of economic growth in Russia."

It is noteworthy that Federation Council members were rather critical of the premier's report. Speakers rebuked the prime minister, for instance, over the fact that with respect to some budget articles (the regional support fund, the road fund, social programs) only an aggregate figure of expenditures was approved, with no itemized breakdown. Nikolay Gonchar, who acted as the main defender of the budget, stated that the government had already decided to submit to the Duma concrete figures bearing on [money] transfers to the regions through specific bills. In his rather sharp statement Gonchar insisted on immediate adoption of the budget, arguing that the document envisions a halt in the decline of the GDP (its volume is fixed at 2,300 trillion rubles), while additional budget revenues in 1996 will be primarily directed to finance agricultural production, to procure foodstuffs for military servicemen, to build the metro, and for social programs. As a result of a two-hour discussion, it suddenly transpired that there were in principle virtually no opponents of the budget: Ninety-five of the 112 Federation Council members present voted in favor.

Basic Parameters of the 1996 Federal Budget

Expenditures have been approved in the sum of 435,750 billion rubles

Revenues — 347,200 billion rubles.

The monthly inflation rate envisioned in the budget is 1.9 percent.

The maximum size of the budget deficit is set at 88,550 billion rubles, or 3.85 percent of GDP. To cover the deficit, it is planned to direct 56,100 billion rubles from internal financing sources, including revenues from the issue of state securities, and 32,450 billion rubles from outside financial sources.

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Federation Council Passes Duma Approved Budget Changes

LD2012183695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Interfax) — The Federation Council, Russian parliament's upper chamber, tonight approved changes to the law on the 1995 federal budget which were earlier passed by the State Duma, parliament's lower chamber.

Ninety-four Federation Council deputies voted "for" the changes. The decision needed 90 votes to pass. The Federation Council lacked 16 votes "for" to approve the changes at its morning session Wednesday.

Under the bill on introducing changes to the 1995 budget, revenues were raised by a total of 49.2 trillion rubles bringing them to 224.4 trillion rubles. Expenditures went up only by 36.4 trillion rubles, thus totalling 284.8 trillion rubles. The remaining increase in budget revenues will go towards reducing the budget deficit by 12.8 trillion rubles.

The budget deficit was fixed at 60.3 trillion rubles, or 21.2 percent of budget expenditures. Non-inflationary sources were used for covering the budget deficit this year, including domestic financing at 30 trillion rubles and foreign borrowing at 30.3 trillion rubles.

Federation Council Rejects Bill Approved By Duma

LD2012185095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Interfax) — The Federation Council rejected the bill "On Entry into and Exit from Russia" passed by the State Duma on December 8. Only 14 upper house deputies voted for the bill Wednesday [20 December], while 63 voted against it and five abstained from voting (the quorum is 90 deputies).

The bill would abolish passports for official use and reduce the number of persons liable to receive diplomatic passports. In particular, it would deprive senior state officials of the right to a diplomatic passport.

In addition, the bill would change the current division of powers between state agencies which register and grant documents for exit from Russia, making the Interior Ministry the only agency authorized to carry out such operations.

Members of the Federation Council Foreign Affairs Committee who recommended that the upper house reject the bill believe that the changes proposed in the bill would "hamper Russia's cooperation with foreign states on all levels."

In particular, they would "make more complex the procedure of accrediting abroad those members of Russian diplomatic missions who have passports for official use would deprive them of part of their privileges and immunities."

The committee also pointed out that the law would increase pressure on Interior Ministry agencies, which, together with the passports exchange, could block the process of issuing exit documents for a long period of time.

The law would also increase state spending on the financing of public employees' business trips and visits by official delegations, a statement by the committee reads.

The committee considered "serious and well-grounded" the objections to the bill, which were presented in letters from Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his deputy, Boris Pastukhov.

Senate Votes Down Law on Funding of Veterans' Benefits

MM2112123795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "The Federation Council Believes That the State Budget Does Not Care About Veterans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federation Council has rejected the law adopted by the State Duma 22 November on the delimitation of the functions of the federal government and local organs of power with regard to implementing a number of provisions of the "Law on Veterans." To simplify matters, the crux of the law was to transfer some of the financial concerns for veterans from the local authorities to the government. The law adopted by the lower chamber was rejected because, in the opinion of members of the Federation Council, funding was not provided for it. According to the Russian Federation Government's data, an additional 33.2 trillion rubles will be needed to fund benefits for veterans out of federal budget funds. The 1996 budget just approved by the Federation Council makes no provision for such funds, ITAR-TASS reports.

Regional Affairs

Bashkir Republic Votes Against Free Land-Trading

LD2012175795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1505 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By Raul Tukhvatullin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] UFA, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — A vast majority of residents in Russia's autonomous

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republic of Bashkir Republic in the Volga region on Sunday [17 December] voted against free trading of land.

The referendum held in the republic on a par with elections for the State Duma, showed that 84.4 per cent of voters (1,754,000 people) appeared to be against unlimited land-trading, whereas 13.5 per cent (about 300,000) voted for it.

"Probably, we will soon regret that we have persuaded people to take such a decision," Mukhammed Sagitdinov, famous republican economist, told Itar-Tass on Wednesday. In his opinion, "life proves: the right to land-owning is not somebody's whim or policy. It is a necessary condition of the revival of our whole economy."

Answering the second question of the referendum, 71.1 per cent of voters supported the policy of strengthening Bashkir Republic's economic independence within the renewed Russia and the development of the bilateral power sharing treaty. 19.1 per cent voted against such policy.

Further Reportage on Chechnya Elections, Conflict

OSCE Continues To Pursue Contact With Dudayev

LD2112120195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 21 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 21 (Itar-Tass) — Staff members of the OSCE mission in Chechnya have failed so far to resume contact with the Dudayev side. Nevertheless, they continue an active search for ways to settle the situation in Chechnya, Spanish Colonel Carlos Rey, acting head of the OSCE mission, told Tass today. He said as well that OSCE representatives would leave for Gudermes and Urus-Martan for evaluating the situation in those cities "as soon as the conditions permit."

On the eve of the December 17 elections workers of the OSCE mission left Chechnya for some time for security considerations and returned to Groznyy on December 19.

Khasbulatov, Zavgayev on Chechnya Elections

LD2012152095 Moscow NTV in Russian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 95

[From the "Today at Midnight" program, moderated by Aleksandr Gerasimov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, former chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, said in an interview with our program that he is not inclined to consider Zavgayev's election a legal act:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] Well, what kind of elections were they in Chechnya, what kind of elections, what kind of victory — it is a Pyrrhic victory. I was telephoned from Groznyy today and told that Gudermes is practically destroyed, several hundred Russian soldiers and thousands of civilians have been killed, and practically the whole town has been bombed from the air. So talks need to be started urgently, an end to the war demanded; they need to sit at the negotiating table again — Mikhaylov, Volskiy, all the others, let them sit at the negotiating table.

All the same, we knew from the very beginning that Zavgayev would not come to power, he has no power. The man is sitting at the airport surrounded by federal troops and of course these elections did not add to the power that he had before, and they have even practically put a question mark over — it's not even a question mark, more like: put an end to this man's career. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] According to Khasbulatov's information, a real war is continuing in Chechnya. The news agencies also report no end to exchanges of fire in the Chechen Republic. Nevertheless, we managed to get through by telephone to Doku Zavgayev, the newly elected head of Chechnya, who is at present in Groznyy. He thinks that many mass media are incorrectly interpreting the elections held in the republic. Zavgayev points out that more than 64.5 percent of the population expressed their desire to live in peace:

[Begin Zavgayev recording; Zavgayev speaks over telephone] Our position is one of peace and civil accord, supporting the restoration of the destroyed republic. People are regularly receiving their pensions now, benefits, workers are being paid their wages, compensation is being received in full for losses suffered, we have just begun to make payments. We will soon create workplaces. This kind of restoration work is under way in all sectors. The most important thing, most important, is that 64.5 percent of the electorate voted. This is confirmation that we have correctly chosen our political policy, a policy for the rebirth of the economy, to establish peace. [end recording]

Kulikov Comments on Gudermes, Urus-Martan

LD2112124095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1208 GMT 21 Dec 95

[By Oleg Velichko and Artem Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 21 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Ku-

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likov has blamed Chechen gunmen for the worsening of the situation in Gudermes, because "instead of giving a chance to the people to express their will with the help of elections, they have done all they could for whipping up tension." Speaking in an interview with Tass, he stressed that the most important thing in this situation is "to ensure the safety of the people, who are there at the moment, and this can be done only with the use of force."

Kulikov said that the federal troops were "fulfilling the mission of clearing Gudermes of the gunmen." In his opinion, it is necessary now "to beef up law enforcement structures in the republic, including the Chechen Interior Ministry, so that they will be able to support the popularly elected authorities."

Touching upon the situation in Urus-Martan, Kulikov made it clear that it would not be difficult to drive the gunmen out of Urus-Martan, because "half of them have already fled the city."

Chechen Chief Asks Moscow To Stop 'Terrorism'

LD2012214595 Moscow NTV in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 95

[From the "Today" program by announcer Mikhail Osokin]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the latest reports, Dudayev fighters are setting houses in Gudermes on fire. Meanwhile, the troops are now trying to resolve their next task: to break through to the railway station in the center of town, where another group of Russian soldiers is surrounded by Dudayev's fighters. Grad and Uragan volley fire systems are being drawn up to the town.

Scheduled activities have been postponed again at the Groznyy garrison. Many of the barracks and tents are empty. First artillery troops and then assault troops have gone to help the internal troops in Gudermes. Road blocks have been reinforced around the entire perimeter of the Chechen capital. Demobilized servicemen are not being sent home, though they were the ones who determined the victory of Russia Is Our Home at the federal forces' polling stations.

The provocations of Dudayev's forces in recent days are giving rise to concern with the newly elected leadership of the republic.

[Begin recording] [Doku Zavgayev, head of the Chechen Republic] The so-called fighters, consisting of representatives of many nationalities, including from foreign countries, are terrorizing the people of our republic. The people are weary of this terrorism. I think the government of the country — Moscow — should also issue an appropriate statement to those countries whose citizens are creating terror for us here.

[Ibragim Suleymenov, military commissar of the Chechen Republic] They haven't confiscated the weapons! The main task that was set, the reason the troops were brought in, has not been carried out by the troops. The weapons are in the fighters' hands! Where are the 70,000 firearms, then? The weapons are going out there, they have already got out to Ingushetia, they are in Dagestan, they are in other regions of Russia, and those weapons will be used! Just what will we turn into? [end recording]

Federal Forces Continue Clearance of Gudermes

LD2112124695 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Federal troops are continuing the operation to clear Gudermes of the fighters who seized the town on 14 December. We have asked Vasiliy Panchenov, a member of staff at the Interior Ministry Troops Press Bureau, to report on the situation there.

[Panchenov] Federal troops have halted the fighters' attempt to get into Gudermes from Shali in six coaches under the pretext of being a peace convoy. The federal troops command believes that the fighters who are bogged down in fighting with the federal troops in Gudermes might still get help from outside. Yesterday evening, as it was getting dark, the federal troops managed to break into the commandant's office and to free the 80 Internal Troops men who had been encircled there for a week. They have been given medical help. The fighters are still holding a number of buildings in the town, including a railway station, where a Special Purpose Militia Detachment subunit is trapped.

The fighters have made several attempts to break the resistance of the federal militia and to seize the railway station. The last such attempt was made when up to 50 men tried to storm the station from various sides. The militia managed to defend themselves and to fend off that attack. The command of the federal troops has made efforts to break through to the station but, in urban conditions, the federal troops have no freedom of maneuver and no opportunities to open fire with tanks and artillery, for fear of civilian casualties. The fighters are taking advantage of this factor, organizing resistance to the federal troops all over town. Unfortunately, in the course of the military operations, there have been casualties among federal soldiers. The losses are still being confirmed.

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Gudermes Mayor: Helicopters Fire on Civilians

AU2112124795 Paris AFP in English 1241 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Groznyy, Russia, Dec 21 (AFP) — Russian helicopters are firing on civilians trying to flee fighting in Gudermes, Chechnya's second biggest town, mayor Ramzan Vashayev told AFP on Thursday.

"Refugees are managing to get out, mostly to (the neighbouring Russian republic) Daghestan, but Russian helicopters are firing on the columns, despite their white flags," Vashyaev said in the capital Groznyy after escaping his town.

The fighting between Russian troops and Chechen separatist guerrillas who took control of the town a week ago has left more than 100 civilians dead, including women and children, Vashayev said.

"There are still numerous bodies in the centre," said Vashayev, who is loyal to Chechnya's new Russian-installed administration, not the separatist rebel government.

According to Vashayev, there were about 500 Chechen guerrillas and they controlled about half of the town, which is 30 kilometres (18 miles) from Groznyy.

About 20,000 of the town's 50,000 population had managed to flee, he said.

Looters had taken advantage of the situation to rampage through shops, but they were not part of the guerrilla force, he said.

The Chechen force infiltrated the town, which is well behind Russian lines, December 14. [passage omitted]

Hundreds of Militants Enter Achkhoy-Martan

LD2112112395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1031 GMT 21 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 21 December — Things have become heated in the Chechen district center Achkhoy-Martan, 50 km west of Groznyy. According to the district prefect Shamil Burayev, around 300 militants have entered the town, taking advantage of a temporary absence of federal troop road blocks on the approaches to the town. Among other things, they are demanding that the head of the local administration and the chief of the regional internal affairs directorate resign and that people originating from the town should be elected in their place, the prefect said.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent who went to Achkhoy-Martan today saw a crowd of well armed people occupying a number of administrative buildings in the center of the town. Supporters of the current authorities and local militia employees gathered outside the building housing the regional internal affairs directorate to render armed opposition to the militants, if necessary.

Vladimir Zorin, the first deputy head of the territorial directorate of the federal bodies of executive power in Chechnya, whom we managed to contact by telephone from Moscow, knows nothing about these events.

Urus-Marten Residents Confront Dudayev Supporters

LD2012165495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1641 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — Chechen police and residents of the Chechen town of Urus-Martan tried to drive Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev's militants out of the town on Wednesday. The confrontation continues, according to the press center of the Russian troops in Chechnya told Itar-Tass. Federal troops did not take any active measures against the militants. The press center said that they did not use artillery or planes to bomb Urus-Martan.

Economic Issues

Vote Should Prompt Few Economic Changes

MK2012151195 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Mikhail Delyagin under the "Election Results and Russian Economy" rubric: "There Will Be No Drastic Policy Change"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Now that the key results of the parliamentary elections are already evident, the natural question of the further economic policy of the Russian authorities arises. The answer to this question is simple: This policy will not undergo drastic changes. However, some new elements in this policy will emerge: The government will pay less attention to the agricultural lobby's financial demands; on the other hand, industrial protectionism could increase. At any rate, the president and the government will have to make a point of increasing social spending.

Fundamental Changes in Economic Policy Are Impossible

Why can one assert that Russian economic policy will not undergo fundamental changes after the elections? If only because "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] will have sufficient clout in the new parliament and will be able to draw on the experience of the current executive branch

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in "breaking in" the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] and Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] factions. Also because representatives of the left opposition pin their hopes exclusively on the unpopularity of the economic policy that has until now been pursued by the government, and on the whole are interested in seeing this policy continue until the presidential elections — metaphorically speaking, they think that the president and his government are playing "into their opponents' hands," and all their actions only broaden the opposition's social support base.

But, most important, it is simply impossible to change economic policy drastically in the current situation — at least within a short period of time. One should bear in mind that the government has been pursuing an austere budget and financial policy not so much of its own accord, but is, rather, pressed by circumstances to do so. The circumstances are more of domestic than international making at that. The results of what was recognized by international observers as "fair, free, and democratic" elections may put the government in a strong position to bargain for a softening of the financial policy with the IMF, but its concession will not be particularly serious — it is no longer possible to change the relationship between Russia and international financial organizations that came about in 1995. Recently, Russia has become too dependent on international borrowing: If in 1994 only 8 percent of the budget deficit was paid for in this way, in January-September 1995 loans accounted for 37 percent (without accounting for rescheduled interest payments).

Moreover, economic policy cannot be changed in a fundamental fashion for a purely technical reason. The 1996 budget, which sets forth the current financial restrictions and is based on an extremely low inflation forecast, has already been adopted, and revising it would be technically impossible.

Certain Adjustments Are Inevitable

Nonetheless, certain adjustments are set to be made to the economic policy. For instance, the Agrarians' electoral setback will significantly weaken the agro-industrial sector's lobbying pressure and will enable the government to save some money on the state's financial support for agriculture. In so doing it may also cite the fact that, contrary to expectations, agricultural production did not shrink considerably in 1995 and its slump remained at last year's level. Commodity loans, which have essentially replaced direct subsidies to agricultural producers, unexpectedly turned out to be relatively effective. Now that the Agrarians' hand has been weakened, the federal food corporation, which demonstrated its helplessness in 1995, may become the first victim of the cost-saving measures.

At the same time, tighter protection of domestic industrial manufacturers (such as a refusal to abolish customs duties on imported cars) may become a serious concession to the opposition. On the whole, protectionism, which is indispensable in order to placate a part of Russian manufacturers, is not that detrimental to financial policy — not only will it generate import duty proceeds, but it will help the government save considerable amounts of money that would have otherwise had to be spent on supporting industries that are crumbling from exposure to foreign competition (the latter, in turn, is fueled by the low exchange rate of the dollar).

It is also clear that the money saved thanks to a reduction in agricultural spending and a tightening of industrial protectionism will be spent to finance the social sector. The reason is that the most evident conclusion the president and his government can draw from the outcome of these elections is the need to increase social spending and still reverse the voters' mood by the time of the presidential elections. Strange as it might be, international financial organizations will also be pushing for that, arguing that for all the importance of an austere financial policy, reform-minded politicians must rely on an energetic social policy to win over the population if only to stay in power.

Possible Specific Steps

On the whole, the executive branch is presented with a very difficult task: To quickly redirect financial flows to the social sector, while retaining the overall anti-inflationary thrust and the austerity of the financial policy it pursues. All specific steps in economic policy in the short run will be geared to achieve this objective.

In all likelihood, the government and presidential staff realize that it is a matter of their self-preservation. For this reason they may impose stricter rules on major monopolies than is usually the case in an attempt to break their resistance for the sake of generating money for social programs (an example has already been set by First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays, who presented an ultimatum to the largest tax evaders). The program of "bringing order" may include a wide-ranging offensive on major tax evaders and also an attempt to impose taxes on small and some medium-size businesses in one way or another (in the form of an annual license fee, for instance) that are currently evading paying taxes. To all appearances, the policy of careful pressure on "Gazprom" and its investment fund's privileges will continue, as will the struggle for

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a definitive end to the practice of forming enterprises' reserve funds to finance "priority requirements."

It should be admitted that the establishment of in most cases effectively nonexistent control over budget expenditures is an important source of revenue generation. Suffice it to say that the delay of budget funds in the accounts of organizations authorized to spend them is not yet seen as a financial breach. Undoubtedly, the current program of tightening currency control will be expanded.

At the same time, the above listed measures, to all appearances, will be taken in a piecemeal and inconsistent fashion. The reason is the fear of infringing on the interests of influential groups that are capable of having considerable impact on the outcome of the presidential elections. Relations with them will probably not be based on diktat, but will rely on much-invoked "compensation transactions," under which the state repays loans for social programs (or combat operations in Chechnya, which are not provided for in the budget, and measures to restore its economy) by turning over or leasing its assets. Security-based privatization has become the most important area of compensation transactions. For this reason any attempts by the opposition to attack it in the first half of 1996 are doomed to failure.

Clearly, attempts will be made to enlarge financial flows to the social sector and at the same time to create incentives for an increase in production by carefully lowering the Central Bank's refinancing rate further. This lowering, however, will be halted at the very first slight increase in monthly inflation, which appears to be inevitable in early-1996 (taking into account the payments made in November).

In 1996 the government will attempt to boost production in industries oriented at domestic, not export markets. Its tight financial policy, however, will not enable it considerably to increase the domestic market's capacity, for which reason the planned maneuver can only succeed insofar as, again, export-oriented industries are concerned ("Gazprom," for instance, can be forced to buy domestic, not imported equipment).

The need to concentrate all resources of the state and the private sector in order to achieve a specific political result may cause an accelerated switch to the so-called "South Korean model," under which the state, while relatively tightly controlling major private companies, supports them not only with political support, but also by economic actions that further the government's goals. At the same time, in their struggle to achieve political goals the president and his government may well exploit the fact that currently funding or other forms of state support (assistance in gaining access to foreign markets, for instance) is once again becoming a critically important survival factor even for major private firms.

Finance Ministry: IMF Ends Monitoring Economy

LD2012173495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1427 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By Aleksandr Samozhnev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — The mission of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which is currently in Moscow, hopes to end month to month monitoring the state of Russia's economy by the end of this week, Itar-Tass was informed in the Russian finance ministry today.

Carrying out such inspections was one of the conditions under which the IMF allocated support credits, which totalled 6.2 billion U.S. dollars. Since all main indices of the economic development conformed to parameters set by the IMF, Russia can count on receiving another credit amounting to 550 million dollars by the IMF.

Simultaneously, talks are underway about a new IMF credit for widening financing programme for 1996-1998. The two sides have made significant progress in agreeing to a text of the memorandum expounding general principles of the economic policy.

As was noted, the two sides discussed the Russian government's measures to fill up the budget's income part in 1996. IMF experts expressed the hope that the new State Duma will adhere to commitments earlier made to international financial organizations. This will help continue a constructive dialogue about cooperation with the IMF.

Negotiations about IMF credits for a broad-based financial programme, in accordance with which Russia may be assigned a sum of 12 billion dollars, are planned to be continued in the middle of January 1996.

State Budget Adoption Viewed

MM2112110195 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by Olga Burkaleva: "Budget: Common Sense Has Prevailed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We do not promise miracles but we guarantee steady advance" — with these words Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin ended his speech to Federation Council deputies when he presented the 1996 budget. He stressed that the present law on the budget is the collective work of both chambers of parliament and the government. For the first time the

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Federation Council has taken part in the preparation of the document at an early stage. This is a balanced law which will make it possible to pursue a considered policy. The premier called 1996 the year of economic growth.

For the components of the Federation the new law has introduced substantial innovations compared with the 1995 budget. An altered mechanism for extrabudgetary relations has been submitted. With a view to creating a stabler base for relations between the federal budget and the budgets of the Russian Federation components stable rates and normatives have been established for payments into the budgets of the Federation components and deductions from the relevant taxes and revenue within the limits adopted in the budget for 1995. There has been a change in the mechanism for forming the federal fund for financial support for the Federation components. This fund will be formed in 1996-1998 using 15 percent of the total tax revenue entering the federal budget except for income tax from individuals and import duties. This enhances the stability of the formation of the fund for financial support for the regions compared with 1995. Expenditure on federal programs for support for the regions has been increased by 300 billion rubles [R] compared with the draft budget. This expenditure is planned at R2,475,350.6 billion.

Despite the questions' entirely obvious nature before the vote a stormy debate arose. It was of a political rather than economic nature despite the speeches of deputies who still, counter to all conciliation procedures, demanded an increase in financing for defense, education, culture, and the social sphere. And if their demands were supported the procedure for adopting the budget would be delayed by at least two or three months. And under the conditions of the new composition of the State Duma debate on the discussion of the budget for 1996 would, according to other deputies, rather be the subject of political bartering and would hold up the start of the fiscal year indefinitely. Common sense nonetheless won over sectorial and regional bias the 1996 budget was approved by 95 votes "for."

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International Affairs

Kuchma: Balance of Political Force in Russia Unchanged

LD2012181495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1731 GMT 20 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Leonid Kuchma is confident that the Russian government will not change its course in the wake of the parliamentary elections because President Boris Yeltsin stays as the guarantor of reforms.

In an Interfax interview he also said that the balance of political forces has not changed in Russia and nothing terrible or unforeseen has happened.

Kuchma recalled that the election results were predicted by Russian social and political scientists even though he believed that Our Home Is Russia would do better in the voting.

Kuchma was also confident that nothing will change in the Russian government or the country until the presidential elections and Viktor Chernomyrdin will remain prime minister.

On the other hand, Ukraine must make serious conclusions because the elections have shown to what extent the left is organized.

He recalled that the left in Ukraine is equally well-organized while the others are torn apart (IF Note: the Communist and Socialist Parties have 120 out of 404 seats in the Ukrainian parliament).

Kuchma said that overcoming differences and conflicts is the main prerequisite for the construction of a state. "If we forget this, we'll pay a high price," he warned.

According to Kuchma, Yeltsin feels fine, is working, his mood is resolute and he intends to leave Barvikha before the year's end.

Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk believes that the election results in Russia will not tell on the bilateral relations which will develop as the economy requires.

Marchuk told a meeting of town mayors in Kiev that numerous Russian economic structures want normal relations with Ukraine and do not care what kind of government they have. He objected to "reforms at any price" in Ukraine and said that social tensions will not make this possible. Marchuk said he had numerous discussions with officials of international financial institutions on this score.

Airborne Brigade To Participate in Bosnia

LD2112123395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1201 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 21 (Interfax) — The personnel of the airborne brigade that will take part in the operation to be carried out by multinational forces in Bosnia "is ready to accomplish its tasks," a spokesman for Russia's Defense Ministry told Interfax on Thursday.

The brigade was formed on the basis of the 98th and 76th divisions of Russia's airborne troops. It numbers 1,500 men assigned to two autonomous battalions.

The brigade will perform its functions — disengage the warring sides and secure ceasefire — in the northern part of Bosnia- Herzegovina in the areas of Brcko, Zvornik and Tuzla. It will cooperate with the 1st American armored division, which also belongs to the multinational forces.

Thirty percent of officers in the Russian brigade took part in the Afghan war, and 60 percent in the war in Chechnya. Members of the brigade include people from 23 ethnic groups. The average term of service for sergeants and privates is one year. Twelve officers and junior officers have already served in the former Yugoslavia as members of U.N. peace contingents. Col. Aleksandr Lentsov is in command of the brigade.

Protocol Signed With Russia, Romania on Gas Pipeline

WS2112102695 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0815 GMT 21 Dec 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev — Last week in Romania the Romanian company RomGas, the Russian joint stock company GazProm, the Ukrainian company Ukr-HazProm and Ukraine's State Committee for the Oil, Natural Gas, and Oil Refinery Industries signed a protocol of intent regarding the construction of a natural gas pipeline which will extend from Khust, Ukraine, to Satu-Mare, Romania. This information was given to INFOBANK by Stepan Yaloveha, head of the press service within Ukraine's State Committee for the Oil, Natural Gas, and Oil Refinery Industries.

According to this protocol of intent Russia's GazProm will be responsible for providing Russian natural gas to Romania and delivering it to RomGas to the area near the Ukrainian city of Khust. For its part Ukraine should take care of design and construction work and the utilization of the new pipeline on its territory while Romania will do the same on its territory. The volume of

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natural gas pumped over Ukrainian territory to Romania should reach 500 million cubic meters in 1997 and 4 billion cubic meters by 2010. During negotiations discussions were also held concerning the possible construction of a gas pipeline from Ukraine through the city of Beltsy, Moldova, to Romania.

Minister Interviewed on Chernobyl Closure Conditions

BR2012155495 Brussels LE SOIR in French 20 Dec 95 p 17

[Interview with Environment and Nuclear Safety Minister Yuriy Kostenko by Alain Guillemoles in Kiev, date not given: "Yuriy Kostenko: 'Strong Pressure'" — first paragraph is LE SOIR introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yuriy Kostenko is the Ukrainian minister for the environment and nuclear safety. In Ottawa, he will be the man who signs the memorandum on the closure of the nuclear power station. We talked with him.

[Guillemoles] There has been talk of closing Chernobyl for two years now. What are your feelings at a time when negotiations with the G-7 are finally culminating in an agreement?

[Kostenko] I feel satisfied. These negotiations have been a long process. We have now reached a good agreement. The essential point is that the rate at which the power station is closed down will be linked to the rate at which Western technical and financial assistance arrives. I consider this to be very important.

[Guillemoles] Which in fact means that you refuse at this point to give a final date after which the power station will cease to operate?

[Kostenko] It is true, the agreement does not include a final date for the closure of Chernobyl. But there is a target date which will guide our activities. This is 1 January 2000. This means that if we concentrate all the necessary resources on this goal, we will succeed in closing it down by the date as planned. But there are still a few uncertainties. Our G-7 colleagues are themselves unable to say whether they will be able to supply the technical and financial assistance in time and when these funds will be available. So that poses a technical problem....

[Guillemoles] So there is no assurance that the date of 1 January 2000 will be respected?

[Kostenko] We do not yet have all the data. For example, the site dismantlement program will only be worked out next year. It is only then that we will know the date when the last reactors will be shut down.

[Guillemoles] The power station manager, Sergey Parachine [name as published], has repeatedly stated that Chernobyl could function for another 15 years. Should we believe him?

[Kostenko] No, this is unlikely, as each of Chernobyl's three reactors requires a major overhaul in order to continue operating. Without this, we cannot imagine that it will still be operating after the end of the century.

[Guillemoles] But some work was carried out on the number one reactor last autumn, at a time when the negotiations with the G-7 had stalled.

[Kostenko] Number one reactor is operating at present and I believe it will be shut down after the end of the year. The dismantling will then begin. If the program is respected, number three reactor could be shut down in 1999 or some time during 2000. That is our plan.

[Guillemoles] What matters still have to be decided before the power station can be shut down without any difficulties?

[Kostenko] In his letter to the G-7, the Ukrainian president stressed that the closure of Chernobyl must necessarily involve solutions to four problems for Ukraine: the creation of new electricity production capacities; the means to process the nuclear waste; the encasement of number four reactor, the one which exploded; retraining for the power station workers who live close by, with their families, in the town of Slavoutih. If these four matters can be settled, we will be able to close the power station in four years.

[Guillemoles] Does the agreement you are signing today provide hope that this will be the case?

[Kostenko] By the terms of the agreement, two additional nuclear reactors will be started up, in Rovno and Khmelnitski, with Western aid, whose production capacities we will improve. The agreement already provides for money, in the form of loans. The problem is the money for dismantling the power station and building a new structure to seal it up. The money earmarked, several hundred million dollars, is far from sufficient for us.

[Guillemoles] The G-7 countries have put strong pressure on Ukraine over the past two years in order to conclude these negotiations quickly. How have the Ukrainians taken this pressure?

[Kostenko] I can simply say that the pressure has been very.... strong. We receive a lot of loans from Western countries to help us finance what is our biggest item of expenditure: the purchase of gas and oil from Russia. We are unable to meet this expenditure ourselves as

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none of the companies, all of which are in the process of restructuring, are able to meet their payments. The cost must therefore be met out of the public budget. During the negotiations, there were repeated threats to cut off these loans if we did not agree to close Chernobyl....

Chernobyl Agreement With G-7

WS2112101195 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0815 GMT 21 Dec 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[Transcribed Text] Ottawa — On December 20 Ukraine's minister of environmental protection and nuclear safety, Yuriy Kostenko, and Canada's deputy prime minister and environment minister, Sheila Copps, signed a memorandum on mutual understanding between Ukraine and the Group of Seven [G-7] countries with regard to the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. The memorandum does not specifically state that the plant is to be closed by the year 2000, but this date is considered to be the deadline for which all sides are aiming. The memorandum includes two addenda, one of which outlines measures aimed at taking the Chernobyl nuclear power plant out of operation, and the other which provides financial estimates of the cost of such measures. The G-7 countries will give Ukraine a total of $2.3 billion in assistance. Of this sum $500 million will be in the form of grants and the remainder will be given in the form of loans.

The amount to be given by each G-7 country for this project will be determined during future talks between representatives from Ukraine and these countries. The grants will be given for projects considered non-profit - the transformation of the sarcophagus covering Chernobyl's fourth energy block where the accident took place into an ecologically sound structure, the social welfare of plant employees, short-term repairs at the plant, and the restructuring of Ukraine's energy sector. Included among profit-making projects are the construction of new energy blocks at the Khmelnytskyy and Rivne nuclear power plants and assistance to Ukraine for the modernization of its thermal and hydroelectric power plants. The deadline for repayment of these loans and dates when they will be given are not mentioned in the memorandum.

All sides have agreed to the step-by-step closure of the Chernobyl plant. The first five years (until 2000) will be considered a preparatory period during which the plant will cease to operate. After 2000 work at the plant will be carried out in two directions - the neutralization of waste from nuclear fuel (to last 10 years) and the transformation of the sarcophagus over the fourth energy block into an ecologically safe structure (to take 9 years).

Kiev To Provide Rockets for 'Sea Launch' Project

WS2112101095 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0815 GMT 21 Dec 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York — On December 18 the Wall Street Journal reported that the American aerospace company Hughes Aircraft plans to make use of services provided by the Sea Launch joint venture in order to launch no less than 10 of its satellites with the help of Ukrainian Zenith rocket-carriers. In addition to Ukraine, the U.S., Norway and Russia are also taking part in the Sea Launch project. Hughes Aircraft is expected to pay $500 million for 10 such launches.

In an interview with INFOBANK the deputy director general of Ukraine's National Space Agency, Eduard Kuzyetsov, said that the Sea Launch project is being carried out by an American-Norwegian-Russian-Ukrainian joint venture with the same name which plans to commercially launch close to 60 satellites from a sea platform. The first launch is planned for the end of 1998.

The sea platform from which the rocket carrying the satellite will be launched has already been built by the Norwegian firm Kvaerner North Technology. This platform comprises the Norwegian firm's investment into Sea Launch's statutory fund. According to Mr. Kuznyetsov, the American company Boeing, which is deal with marketing and financing of Sea Launch, has the largest percentage of the joint venture's statutory fund. Ukraine, which will construct rockets for satellite launches from the sea platform, owns 15 percent of its statutory fund. Russian investors are contributing the booster for the rockets to Sea Launch's statutory fund. Mr. Kuznyetsov said that for each commercial launch of a satellite, aerospace firms will pay Sea Launch $50 million of which Ukraine will receive $7.5 million.

National Affairs

Kuchma Speech Commemorates Cossack Leader

LD2012234495 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A gala meeting held on 20 December at the National Opera House in Kiev commemorated the 400th anniversary of Bohdan Khmelnytskyy, the great Ukrainian hetman [Cossack leader] and nation-builder. Oleksiy Havrysh reports.

[Havrysh] The meeting crowned a series of events commemorating Bohdan Khmelnytskyy, whose 400th anniversary is marked according to a decision of the

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Ukrainian president and government. Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Kuros who presided over the ceremony, opened the meeting and passed the floor to President Leonid Kuchma, who stressed the fact that Khmelnytskyy dedicated his life to creating the Ukrainian state virtually from scratch.

[Begin Kuchma recording] Today we have every reason to assert that the hetman was able to accumulate the entire previous experience of the liberation movement and adapt it to the realities of his time. That is precisely why his cause has lived on through centuries. [passage omitted]

The revival of the Ukrainian state, which Khmelnytskyy regarded as the successor to the Rus principality, was undoubtedly the greatest political achievement of the Ukrainian people in the course of the 14th-17th centuries. Given today's complex process of creating the fundamental law of the state, one should pay special tribute to Khmelnytskyy's outstanding contribution to the country's constitutional practice. With due respect for the efforts of [Ukrainian historian] Pylyp Orlyk and his colleagues to gather together the huge experience of Cossack democracy in his famous papers, it is necessary to say that it was Khmelnytskyy who founded Ukrainian constitutionalism, which dates back to habitual law [zvychayeve pravo] and the truth of Rus [Ruska pravda, a collection of laws in Kievan Rus in 11th-12th centuries]. However, the first active national constitution in Ukraine — perhaps equal in importance to the English Magna Carta — was the Zborov Treaty of 1649. From that date on, Europe, including Russia, recognized Ukraine as a separate national entity with clearly defined state borders, its own territory, army, court, religion, government structure and, one should emphasize, language. [end recording]

[Havrysh] Of course, the weakest point in the story of hetman Khmelnytskyy's activities is the Pereyaslav Treaty with Russia, after which Ukraine began to lose its statehood. This particular fact today is a subject of much controversy. [passage omitted]

[Begin Kuchma recording] A complicated turning point in the hetman's policy and the history of our nation was the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654. Politicians interpret this event in different ways. I say politicians, not scholars. But if one sheds the numerous historical myths that have snowballed around this event in the past 340 years, one will say that the Pereyaslav Treaty gave birth to a new Ukrainian state, and the legal essence of the treaty with the Moscow tsar was a legitimate break with the Polish-Lithuanian Rzecz Pospolita and Ukraine's entry to a new international relationship as a subject of international law at the time. [passage omitted]

Thanks to the hetman, one of the biggest mysteries of the 17th century that could not be fathomed by his contemporaries and which in itself is Khmelnytskyy's greatest memorial, was the emergence on the European continent, in the lands sandwiched between the Moscow kingdom and the Ottoman empire, and the kingdoms of Poland and Sweden, of a new country that managed to prove its viability through the centuries. It was not the hetman's fault but his greatest human tragedy that after his death the helm passed into the hands of weak and short-sighted heirs, each looking for only one ally and dismissing the rest of the neighboring states as enemies. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Havrysh] This bitter historical lesson, Kuchma said, must be kept in mind in order to avoid repeating the mistakes. In this connection, Kuchma stressed that any compromise made by the government leaders, including the president, should not be regarded as a step toward treason. Continuing, the president said that the second attempt to win sovereignty at the beginning of the 20th century also failed because of the divisions within Ukrainian society. That is why the third attempt must take into consideration the negative experience of nation-building.

[Begin Kuchma recording] The third period of revival in Ukrainian statehood has much to do with the tasks that faced us earlier in history. This requires careful consideration of the past lessons, and most of all, the realization of the reasons why the previous attempts to establish statehood were not successful. The key factor, we believe, is the need to strengthen unity in time and space during the process of nation-building and reforming of society and first of all its economic foundations, to fill the national idea with constructive essence, to ensure political stability and civic unification, and to overcome the tendencies of separatism, confrontation, and continuous conflicts. We must strengthen the universally recognized democratic power structures, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. This calls for, first of all, the acceleration of the work on the new constitution, which would conform to the modern principles of democracy and at the same time take into account Ukraine's historical experience and peculiarities, particularly our mentality with its positive and negative sides, the correlation between power and accountability, especially in critical situations when there is a constant need of decision making; and a foreign policy that would mainly conform to the national interests of Ukraine. This will determine which way Ukraine will follow in the next few years and what Ukraine will be at the dawn of the 21st century, that is, how we are going to live.

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You will agree that we have a lot to think about. Because we are now not only determining our own fate and declaring our loyalty to our history, our country's past, and the difficult life of our predecessors. We are talking about our children and grandchildren. Some day we will be looking them in the eye and answering the question why we are not living the way we deserve to live. It will not do to talk about loyalty to our homeland, no matter where such statements should come from, an individual, a politician, or a political party. They do not make sense if they are removed from the individual citizen, if they do not take into account the life and destiny of a human being and his family, but are filled with mythical ideas and populist slogans, devoid of realistic thought and action.

I will not deny that we are equally worried about the activists who are becoming louder and louder in their calls to return to the brilliant past and those who regard the national idea as a struggle against anybody, aiming at destruction. Taking advantage of the people's centuries-long dream of happiness, they are prepared to lead these people to the barricades and sacrifice them in the name of their partisan goals and personal strife for power. We must warn such popular leaders against this temptation, and we are doing it. We have both the political will and the power of the legitimate mandate given to us by the people, and ultimately, history itself calls us to do it. [end recording]

[Havrysh] Concluding his speech, Kuchma said:

[Begin Kuchma recording] May I take this opportunity to thank all my compatriots for their patience, faith, and hope to finally build a prosperous and wealthy Ukraine, and their selfless work for this goal. May we be inspired by the deeds of Ukraine's great son, Bohdan Khmelnytskyy.

Greeting all of you and all the Ukrainian people on the upcoming new year, I sincerely wish every family in Ukraine well-being, happiness, and peace. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Kuchma Denies Power Struggle Among Leadership

LD2012195795 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking at a gala meeting held today at the National Opera House in Kiev to commemorate the 400th anniversary of hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyy, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma refuted media allegations about a power crisis in Ukraine:

[Begin Kuchma recording] Today, attempts by one political force to dominate over another, to get the upper hand by any means, should give way to a realization of the need to stay in the same boat. This should be the main premise supporting the state, especially because it is a long time yet until the next election. And it is pointless to start the campaign now, by trying to instigate clashes between the country's leaders. Our nerves are strong, and our endurance is better than anyone's. So hold your horses, you well-wishers and home-spun analysts. Do not invent differences if there are none. And I would like to stress that on most issues I am counting on long-term and mutually constructive cooperation with the Supreme Council. Unlike you, we have no reason for rivalry, because we all have one Ukraine. [end recording]

Top Kuchma Aides Quit, Cite 'Unhealthy Atmosphere'

LD2012150395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1451 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]KIEV, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — Three top aides of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma have announced their resignation.

First aide Aleksandr Rasumkov, economic aide Anatoliy Galchinsky, described by media as the architect of Ukraine's reform, and Dmitriy Vydrin, the aide on home policy have tendered resignation.

The aides said they quit due to "unhealthy atmosphere" in the presidential administration. In their statement, released through media on Wednesday, they wrote that there were people in the president's entourage who "were constantly provoking his conflicts with other bodies of power."

"That is why we leave, protesting against the instigator actions and warning about this threat," they added.

There were no names mentioned in the statement, but apparently their reproaches were targeted at Dmitriy Tabachnik, head of Kuchma's administration.

Economic Issues

Delegation to Transcaucasus To Discuss Economic Ties

AU2012151995 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, a delegation of representatives of the Foreign Ministry and the State Committee for Oil Industry left for countries of the Transcaucasus on a working visit. It will visit the Republic of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and the Armenian Republic. There will also be political consultations, in the

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course of which it is planned to discuss the intensification of bilateral relations and to analyze the state of fulfillment of previously reached accords and ways of improving Ukraine's trade and economic cooperation with Transcaucasian states. The question of Ukraine's participation in the development and implementation of oil projects in the Transcaucasian Region will be discussed in particular.

A tripartite meeting of representatives of Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Georgia was held in Baku. Projects for the joint construction of oil pipelines were discussed there.

New Presidential Aide Promises No Economic Reform Amendment

LD2012190795 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1330 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — "The situation within the presidential administration remains normal and businesslike as never before," Volodymyr Kuznetsov, the newly appointed first aide to the president of Ukraine, told a briefing at the administration following the resignation of his predecessor, Oleksandr Razumkov.

Outlining the sphere of his future activities, Kuznetsov said he will concentrate on budget and credit policy issues, and improving cooperation with the National Bank. "There will be no amendment of the president's economic course," he stated.

The 35-year-old aide is a graduate of Dnepropetrovsk University with a PhD in economics. He served as adviser to the Ukrainian prime minister from June 1993 and headed the economics department at the presidential administration from August 1994.

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Moldova

Snegur Rules Out Compromise on Language Issue

AU2112104995 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, December 20 (INFOTAG) — Moldovan President Mircea Snegur considers the country's official language name is "Romanian," and any compromises here are out of the question, his press secretary Vasile Grozavu stated at today's news conference.

Mr. Grozavu, who appeared at the conference in a company of Snegur's other advisers, has reminded that last April the head of state had filed the legislative initiative on re-naming the language from "Moldovan" into "Romanian," and on appropriately amending the Constitution — proceeding from the necessity to restore the scientific truth.

Adviser Anatol Ciobanu emphasized that "the language name problem is a scientific and not political one." In his opinion, it would be an absurd to put the question up for a nationwide referendum, as some Parliament deputies are urging.

By the Main Law, the Parliament shall pass a constitutional amendment law not earlier than 6 months after an appropriate initiative has been filed. The law shall be adopted by the majority of two-thirds of deputies' votes. If the constitutional amendment law fails to be adopted within one year after the initiative has been submitted, that initiative shall be considered null and void.

Mr. Ciobanu said, the president cannot undertake any steps other than those envisaged by the Main Law. "Mr. Snegur counts on the common sense and support of the public, particularly of the national intelligentsia."

In that context, adviser Constantin Oboroc let understand that in case the Parliament decides to take their time and ignore the language re-naming initiative, then the head of state may repeat his initiative, as there are no restrictions to this regard.

Official Calls For 'Tougher' Response Over Dniester

AU2112113795 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 20/12/1995 (BASApress) — The entire Dniester problem is connected with Russian leaders' policy, Fiodor Angheli, vice chairman of the parliamentary commission for foreign policy, told the Agrarian Democratic Party of Moldova [PDAM] publication ECOUL CHISINAULUI (Echo of Chisinau).

Referring to the last resolution by the Russian Duma concerning this matter, Angheli admits that Russia might be interested in this zone, but he qualified the resolution as "interference in our country's domestic affairs." Angheli said that as a response to the resolution Chisinau should have issued a tougher statement.

"Russian politicians have to guide by the realities and not to apply double political standards: one for Chechnya, and another for Dniester," since "the signs of separatism are evident here in Moldova as well as in Chechnya."

Recalling that in a recent letter to Snegur, President Yeltsin mentions about the opening of a Russian consulate in Tiraspol, Angheli said "the heads of state were never concerned about that" since this is the prerogative of the foreign departments.

"Lacking full control over the eastern districts, Moldova cannot allow a foreign country to open a consulate there, whatever its sympathies. That would be equal to self-destruction," said Angheli. In his opinion, Russian president's unjustifiable demand will be obvious if the situation got the other way round — Moldova or any other country requests permission to open a consulate in Groznyy. "Russian Parliament's and Government's attitude toward Dniester should be more consistent and realistic. The settlement of this problem could last for years. But, finally, all the problems should be solved within a unitary country," said Angheli.

He thinks the draft special status for Dniester should have been published long ago. "I think we must publish all the suggestions made by Tiraspol leaders," said Angheli, adding "maybe then all bright minds on the Dniester's both banks will see what objectives are pursued in this game."

Angheli mentions that in the Dniester dispute settlement he shares the viewpoint that "it is inadmissible to establish a country within a country."

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Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Decree Regulates Government Authorities

LD2012163295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1327 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By Amangeldy Akhmetaliyev and Fedor Ignatov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has issued a decree which has force of a constitutional law, regulating the government's authorities. The text of the decree was circulated by the news agency KazTAG today.

The document, in particular, defines that members of the government will take oath in the name of the people and the president of the republic. They will be obliged to collectively bear responsibility for their decisions. Resignation by the prime minister, the decree states, will mean an end to authorities exercised by the government.

The president will have the right to on his own initiative take a decision about putting an end to powers enjoyed by the government and relieve its any member from the post he holds.

Members of the government will have no right to be a deputy of a representative body, occupy any other paid post, except as a teacher or being involved in any scientific and creative activities, a member of any administrative body or observers' council of any commercial organization, the document states.

Authorizes Government Reform Program

LD2012185195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, Dec 20 (Interfax) — Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev has authorized a government program for reforms in 1996-1998, Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Sobolev has said. A finalized draft budget for 1996 had been submitted to the president, too.

The chief aim of the government program is to "build on the macro-economic stabilization achieved in 1994-1995, end the production slump and eventually bring about an economic upturn and higher living standards."

Sobolev said the government hoped to reduce annual inflation to 9-12 percent by 1998. Next year's inflation is estimated at 26-28 percent. This year's inflation is running at 57-58 percent, and last year's inflation was 126 percent.

Sobolev said that bringing about an increase in production as early as next year was one of the government's tasks. This year production will fall by 9-10 percent, and last year the index was as large as 25 percent.

Sobolev said that the Kazakh government felt no need to follow in Russia's footsteps to introduce an exchange rate corridor, because Kazakhstan's national monetary unit, the tenge, was stable and under control. The Bank of Kazakhstan has been steadily building up gold and currency reserves, which would total about $2 billion by the end of the year.

Attack on Turkish Airlines Office in Almaty

TA2112102795 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 21 Dec 95

[Announcer-read report]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Turkish Airlines office in Almaty, the capital of Kazakhstan, was attacked by unidentified persons last night. According to ANATOLIA, stones thrown at the office caused slight damage. It was reported that the Almaty Prosecutor's Office has launched an investigation into the incident.

The Turkish Airlines office was stoned last week too, and the windows of the building were shattered.

President Authorizes Embassy To Open in Israel

LD2112100795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0949 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMALTY December 21 (Itar-Tass) — Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev signed a decree today on the opening of a Kazakh embassy in Israel. Observers link this step with the official visit of Nazarbayev to that country, which is scheduled for next week.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev To Meet Yeltsin at Barvikha 20 Dec

MM2012142395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Kabay Karabekov: "President Akayev Flies to Moscow for Moral Support on Eve of Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bishkek — The flu epidemic in Moscow has disrupted even the program for interstate visits. Boris Yeltsin's previously scheduled meeting with Askar Akayev is due to take place in Moscow Oblast's Barvikha today, four days before the Kyrgyz presidential elections.

There are six contenders for the presidency, including the incumbent president. There is every indication that a tough struggle will unfold between Akayev and the

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trio of former Communist Party leaders Amanbayev, Masaliyev, and Sherimkulov.

Right now it can be predicted for sure that the intelligentsia, businessmen, and most voters in northern Kyrgyzstan will vote for Askar Akayev. Votes may be split in the south where most voters live. It is no coincidence that all candidates are spending most of their time in Osh and Dzhalalabad Oblasts.

Strangely enough, one and the same factor is acting both in Askar Akayev's favor and against him. The president is purposefully pursuing the course of economic reform and advocates the democratization of society. Major enterprises are undergoing conversion, and loss-making factories and plants are being declared bankrupt. To date over two-thirds of state property has been privatized. Around 20,000 private farms have appeared in the republic. The National Bank is pursuing a tough monetary policy, maintaining the stable som exchange rate. Naturally, the problems of the transitional period were bound to affect impoverished population groups. This is what his opponents are playing on. Akayev's opponents are promising voters a glorious future for the republic with cheap sausage, bread, and vodka. Admittedly, nor of them is saying how this will be achieved. On the other hand they all claim in unison that all the current misfortunes stem from one man, namely Askar Akayev.

Allies and supporters of Akayev's course hope that common sense will nonetheless prevail. Voters will have to choose one thing 24 December — either to turn back the clock and re-create the socialist system or move forward and continue the course of democratic reform.

President Excludes Possibility of Islamic Fundamentalism

LD2012210395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2031 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 20 (Interfax) — Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev excludes the possibility of Islamic fundamentalism in his country. At the same time, he admitted at a press conference at the Interfax main office in Moscow Wednesday [20 December] that attempts to bring about fundamentalism had been undertaken during the parliamentary and presidential campaign in the republic.

Despite attempts to increase the influence of the Islamic factor in Kyrgyzstan, the republic's leadership is set to strengthen cooperation within the CIS, primarily with Russia, Akayev said. "This position was bequeathed to us by our predecessors" who were against Islamic fundamentalism in Kyrgyzstan, he added. "Our duty is to maintain this tradition and give it to the following generations," he concluded.

Tajikistan

European Union Begins Food Aid to Tajikistan

LD2012165095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1322 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — A consignment of 5 thousand tonnes of grain and 5.5 thousand tonnes of wheat flour has been delivered to Tajikistan by the European Union (EU).

Taking in to consideration the prevailing food situation in a number of republics of the former Soviet Union, the EU member- states are rendering food aid worth 197 million U.S. dollars to them. In particular, 54 thousand tonnes of foodstuffs will be shipped to Tajikistan.

In compliance with a memorandum, signed by the government of Tajikistan and the European Commission (EC), a fund will be set up by selling these foodstuffs, proceeds of which will be used in the development of the agricultural and industrial sector of the republic.

'Severe Battles' Reported in Tavildara During Talks

LD2012173295 Radio Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0300 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a report by Radio Voice of Free Tajikistan's special correspondent in Tavildara, severe battles are still going on between the regime's forces and the mujahedin of the army of the Islamic Movement of Tajikistan in this territory.

On 18 December, our correspondent reports, the regime's forces launched severe infantry attacks from two sides: from (Jur) and (Layrun) villages. The battle continued throughout the day and, courageously fighting back against the enemy, the mujahedin caused material losses and casualties among the military forces of Dushanbe.

Leaving a great number of killed and wounded, the Dushanbe regime's militants finally retreated. It has to be said that this latest battle in Tavildara began at a time when the fifth round of cease-fire talks had started in Ashgabat and were stopped through the fault of the Dushanbe regime.

Turkmenistan

Iranian Vice President Holds Talks With Niyazov

LD2012191595 Tehran IRNA in English 1729 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ashgabat, Dec 20, IRNA — In a meeting here today with Iranian First Vice-

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President Hassan Habibi, the Turkmen president Safarmurad Niyazov said the friendly relations between Iran and his country could serve as an "excellent model" for regional states and even for other countries of the world.

Niyazov added that the two countries' relations have had a profound impact in the further expansion and strengthening of regional cooperation. He emphasized on the need for peaceful resolving of regional crises and said that Iran and his country hold a common stand regarding regional issues such as the crises in Afghanistan and Tajikistan. He also announced his country's readiness for increasing the level of multilateral cooperation between Tehran and Ashgabat.

Habibi in reply, conveying Rafsanjani's warm greetings to the Turkmen president and nation, referred to the role of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in upgrading relations among member states, and underlined the need for further expansion of economic ties. He also expressed hope that eco could be expanded to include other regional states.

Founded by Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, ECO was expanded in 1992 to include the newly independent Muslim republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan. Later, post-communist Afghanistan joined the organization.

Habibi also underscorded the need for further cooperation among Caspian Sea littoral states based upon safeguarding of the resources of the world's largest inland sea. Iran and Turkmenistan, along with the Russian Federation, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, ring the oblong Caspian Sea, which is rich in hydrocarbon and marine resources, especially the prized caviar.

In their meeting Habibi and Niyazov also called for setting up five commissions in the political, industrial, trade, banking, economic, oil and transportation areas for following up bilateral issues.

Habibi arrived here today at the head of high-ranking Iranian political-economic delegation for a 4-day official visit. The ministers of roads and transport 'Akbar Torkan and of industries Mohammad Reza Nematzadeh as well as Deputy Foreign Minister for Euro-American Affairs Mahmud Va'ezi are among Habibi's entourage.

Meets Counterparts, Ministers

LD2112131595 Tehran IRNA in English 1153 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ashgabat, Dec 21 (IRNA) — Visiting Iranian Vice President Hassan Habibi on Thursday met with the Turkmen vice presidents and cabinet ministers at the Turkmen Parliament.

In the meeting, Habibi described as good the growing trend of bilateral cooperation as, saying that the details concerning mutual banking affairs should be completely defined so as to expedite and consolidate bilateral ties. [sentence as received]

The two sides also reviewed the necessity of lifting visa requirements for Iranian and Turkmen truck drivers.

The Iranian and Turkmen heads of the Tehran-Ashgabat Joint Economic Commission were also present at the meeting.

Turkmen Vice President Safarov [title and name as received] called for utilization of valuable experiences of the Islamic Republic in economic, industrial, trade, transportation and communications fields.

Turkmenistan attaches great importance to reinforcing its friendly and brotherly ties with Iran, he said, adding that his country is ready to promote bilateral relations with Iran in areas of mutual interest.

After the meeting, five committees on transportation, oil, gas, industry, trade and banking affairs, culture and political affairs started their work to precisely review the issues concerning mutual cooperation.

Meanwhile, in the presence of Dr. Habibi, the construction work on an Iranian exhibition hall and an auto repair workshop began in the Turkmen capital.

The complex occupies an area of 6,000 square meters and it is expected to be put into operation next year.

Later in the day, Habibi visited "Gok Tepe" historical site, 40 km west of Ashgabat.

The historical site was the scene of a fierce battle between the Muslim people of Turkmenistan and the tzarist army of the Russian Empire in the mid-19th century in which a large number of Muslim combatants lost their lives.

Speaking to local people gathered at the Gok Tepe, the Iranian vice president said that despite ruling Turkmenistan for tens of years, the communists could never force the Turkmen people to quit their religion.

He also gifted a precious hand-woven Persian carpet to the mosque.

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Azerbaijan

Guliyev Responds to Moscow's 'Indignation' Over Caspian

NC2012205495 Baku TURAN in English 1805 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/20.12.95/TURAN—"In fact Caspian was divided into sectors even in the 50-th years by central bodies of the former USSR. Such approach was in the basis of the policy of the both the Soviet government and leaders of some ministries and offices," TURAN was told by Rasul Guliyev, speaker of the Milli Mejlis [National Assembly].

Late last year, after adoption of the new Constitution of Azerbaijan, Russia's Foreign Ministry made a note of protest regarding the provision on including the part of the Caspian sea to the territiory of Azerbaijan.

"Russia's Foreign Ministry expresses its indignation the second time and we periodically answer such protests," Rasul Guliyev said.

Speaker noted that there was Iranian sector in the Caspian. "It was determined on the basis of agreement between former USSR and Iran," he said. According to speaker, after destuction of the Soviet Union , national sectors were owned by new independent states.

"After destruction of the USSR the heads of republics signed agreement which speaks concretely about that. Therefor, despite what the Russian Foreign Ministry says, international law is on our side," Rasul Guliyev noted.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Talks Start in Amsterdam

NC2012210695 Baku TURAN in English 1805 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/20.12.95/TURAN—Today direct bilateral negotiations between Presidential Advisers for Foreign Political Affairs of Azerbaijan and Armenia Vafa Guluzade and Zhirayr Liparityan started in Amsterdam, the diplomatic sources told TURAN agency. Under the same source, the negotiations will last two days and they will be conducted without mediators or any other third side. The content of the talks is not reported, though it is obvious that the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict settlement is to be the subject to discussion.

Such negotiations are considered by the observers as the first step towards the large-scale bilateral negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Western observers believe, such format of the talks would have meant further weakening of Russia's influence upon the Transcaucasus and possibility of prompt settlement of the Karabakh conflict.

Iranians Implicated in Increased Drug Smuggling

MM2112113795 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by correspondent Svetlana Turyalay: "Islamic Connection With 'White Death' Found in Baku"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku — It turns out that it is far more profitable for Iranian citizens to engage in the drugs trade in Azerbaijan than it is back home. Not even because, according to the law in force in that Islamic country, anyone found in possession of more than 5 grams of drugs faces the death penalty. In Azerbaijan too you do not get a pat on the head for smuggling and selling drugs.

On the other hand Iranian drug dealers in Baku have a chance of coming under the protection of the Iranian official authorities despite crimes for which these people would lose their lives in Iran itself. Over 50 Iranian citizens are currently serving sentences in Azerbaijani jails for smuggling and selling drugs. But the country's embassy is bombarding the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry and Presidential Staff with requests and demands for pardons. And it is a matter not of grams but of kilograms of drugs illegally smuggled across the Iranian-Azerbaijani border. A little while ago staffers of the Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs Administration To Combat Drug Addiction and the Drugs Trade neutralized a gang that was attempting to smuggle 14 kg of opium by bribing border guards. Another group of Iranians was intending to smuggle an even bigger consignment — 42 kg of drugs.

But even without the Iranian merchants of "White Death" the drug situation in the republic is on the point of slipping into the abyss like an avalanche. According to specialists, the number of addicts in Azerbaijan has increased tenfold in recent years, reaching over 100,000. Illegal drug trafficking has increased by a factor of 4.5. Sowings of narcotic plants are now only rarely found in houses in the city; they are well hidden from prying eyes high in the mountains. Mubariz Guseynov, chief of the Administration To Combat Drug Addiction and the Drugs Trade, said that huge poppy plantations were recently discovered in Azerbaijan's Massalinskiy Rayon. Officers of the administration destroyed 50 tonnes of plants there.

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Georgia

Shevardnadze Signs Edict on Armed Forces Development

MM2012112595 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Vitaliy Denisov: "Georgia Begins Military Organizational Development. In Earnest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi — Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze has signed an edict "On Comprehensive Measures To Develop the Georgian Armed Forces." In accordance with the document a number of ministries and departments have been instructed to work to improve the legislative base, improve the troops' material and technical support, train national military cadres, and regulate the draft into the Armed Forces.

The Defense Ministry is to submit for consideration by the president and the government a draft military doctrine and concept for the country's military organizational development by 31 December this year. One section of the edict also makes provision for the return to the appropriate power structures of military installations and equipment misappropriated or illegally acquired over the last four years.

New Ministers Confirmed; Goverament Formation Completed

LD2012174095 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tbilisi [no date as received] — The confirmation of the ministerial candidacies, nominated by the president, continued today at a session of the Georgian Parliament.

At the morning session parliament confirmed:

Valeri Asatiani as minister of culture;
Nino Chkhobadze — minister of the environment and natural resources;
Avtandil Silagadze — minister of state property management;
Tengiz Gazdeliani — minister of social security, labor, and employment;
Bakur Guhua — minister of agriculture and food;
Tamaz Kvachantiradze — minister of education;
Konstantine Zaldastanishvili — minister of trade and foreign economic relations;
Avtandil Jorbenadze — minister of health.

Mikhail Krotov, secretary of the Interparliamentary Assembly of the CIS participated in the morning session of parliament.

After the break, parliament continued the discussion and the confirmation of the ministerial candidacies.

By a majority of votes Valeri Vashakidze was confirmed as head of the Committee for Refugees and Resettlement;

Pridon Injia was reelected as minister of communications and post;

Tedo Ninidze was reelected as minister of justice;

Merab Chkhenkeli was confirmed as minister of urban affairs and construction;

Thus, the formation of the Georgian Government was completed. [passage omitted]

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Estonia

Parliament Ratifies Troop Agreements With Russia

LD2012211995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TALLINN, Dec 20 (Interfax) — The Estonian parliament tonight ratified agreements with Russia on Russian troop withdrawal and social guarantees to retired Russian military servicemen and their families.

The Estonian parliament also adopted a statement declaring that the Russian troop withdrawal from Estonia has an important significance for ensuring the country's independence, removing the consequences of the Second World War and ensuring European security.

The Estonian parliament said the agreements' ratification did not mean that Estonia renounced its position proclaiming that Estonia was forced to join the Soviet Union in 1940. The parliament said it hoped that the countries which never recognized Estonia joining the USSR as legal would hold to this position in the future. "We believe that the partner for the agreement, the Russian Federation, will officially join the evaluation of the 1940 events in Estonia given by other states of law," the parliament said.

Estonia wants to build bilateral relations with Russia on the basis of equality, friendly relations and non-interference in each other's affairs, the Estonian parliament said.

The parliament said it hoped that the Estonian-Russian border treaty would be approved proceeding from the assumption that the Tartu Peace Treaty of 1920 remains valid.

The presidents of Russia and Estonia, Boris Yeltsin and Lennart Meri, signed the agreements on Russian troop withdrawal and social guarantees to retired Russian servicemen and their families on July 26, 1994. Moscow completed the agreements' ratification in October 1995.

Pledge To Not Make Territorial Claims on Russia

LD2012194695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1753 GMT 20 Dec 95

[By Yelena Yugina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST. PETERSBURG, December 20 (Itar-Tass) — Estonia's delegation to the talks with Moscow on border issues said on Wednesday it will not make any territorial claims on Russia.

Estonian Foreign Ministry Vice-Chancellor Mart Helme told journalists that his delegation will only discuss an agreement on the delimitation of borders between the two countries.

"We will proceed from the existing border line," he said.

Estonian officials did not refer to the 1920 Tartu peace treaty under which part of the Pskov region, including the entire Pechora district, should be handed over to Estonia.

The Russian delegation insists on the "preservation of the administrative borders that existed before the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the abolition of the RSFSR."

The two delegations will also consider the possibility of redrawing the border line in favour of either side to reflect the existing economic realities and the interests of people living in border areas.

President Appoints Acting Defense Chief

LD2012180895 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Estonian President Lennart Meri has appointed Colonel Vello Loemaa acting commander of the defense forces. Loemaa will take up the post on 22 December. Col. Loemaa is currently the acting commander of the defense force general staff.

The Riigikogu relieved General Aleksander Einseln, the current commander of the defense forces, from his post yesterday. Einseln will officially leave the post on 22 December, one day after the relevant Riigikogu decision is published in the State Gazette.

The president appointed Loemaa acting commander of the defense forces in order to secure the continuity of command over the defense forces. President Meri, who is the supreme commander of state defense, took into account, in addition to laws, the military rule according to which the duties of a missing superior officer are carried out by the one next to him in rank or post.

Lieutenant General Aleksandr Einseln today issued an order stipulating the sequence of his deputies in case he is unable to carry out his duties. [passage omitted]

Latvia

Saeima Factions Sign Agreement on Government Formation

WS2112102895 Tallinn BNS in English 1300 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Dec 20, BNS — Representatives of the Latvian Saeima (parliament) factions Wednesday [20 December] signed an agreement on formation of the government and the main principles of its work.

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The government will be formed by the Democratic Party Saimnieks, Latvia's Way, For Fatherland and Freedom, LNNK, Latvian Unity Party and Latvian Farmers Union coalition factions which are represented by 73 deputies in the 100-seat Latvian legislature.

Prime minister-designate Andris Skele said that a coalition agrement will not be concluded by the factions, threrefore only an agreement on coordination of decisions in the Cabinet and the principles of faction coopration is signed.

It means that decisions on the state budget, on Cabinet's rules passed in compliance with Article 81 of the Consitution as well as decisions which do not consequently follow the government declaration may be taken in the Cabinet only basing on the principle of unanimity.

Factions also agreed on reorganization of the Economics Ministry by transforming it into the Industry and Trade Ministry.

Factions decided not to propose and support in the Saeima amendments to the basic principles of the Constitution, amendments to the Citizenship Law as well as amendments to the law on status of former Soviet citizens, except they are submitted to the Seaima at the initiative of the Latvian people.

A faction cooperation council will be set up in the frames of which factions' authorized representatives will decide according to unanimity principles on the most important legislation issues, confirmation of state officials and other matters which are withing the government competence.

If the prime minister demands resignation of some minister on grounded basis, or a minister resigns himself or if the Saeima gives a vote of non-confidence to a minister, the next candidate for the post is proposed by the faction which is responsible for the respective branch.

Birkavs: Sea Border Talks To Start 'From Scratch'

WS2112104195 Riga LETA in English
1025 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, December 20 — The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Latvia, Valdis Birkavs, informed the press on Tuesday, December 19, about the agreement reached between President Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania, and President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia, in Madrid, Spain, to start Latvia-Lithuania negotiations on the common sea border from scratch, without taking into consideration the previous agreement reached in Maisgale, Lithuania.

The two Presidents had agreed that Latvia and Lithuania should try to resolve the issue of sovereignty over the small area of the Baltic Sea, under which there may be crude oil, by themselves. If this attempt fails, arbitration will have to be sought.

Mr. Birkavs noted that during the Madrid conference President Ulmanis had met with the leaders from Malta, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Ireland.

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